Social Class as a Factor in Social Relations of Students in three Northern Universities

by

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VOLUME I

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Preface and Presentation of Thesis

The thesis here presented began as an undergraduate study for an M.A. Dissertation of the Honours Degree in Social Anthropology. This study was based on original research which took the form of a survey conducted among students of the University of Edinburgh between September 1962 and May 1963. By regulation, the research was carried out without assistance or supervision, and may therefore be regarded as a somewhat tentative preliminary exploration of the field which served to reveal areas worthy of further investigation. The aim of the original survey was "to examine the social class composition and influence in the student body of the University of Edinburgh in the light of post-war changes in British Education". The approach of the investigation was primarily factual, and the findings tended to suggest rather than prove certain hypotheses. The one hypothesis proved was that social classes are meaningful cultural groups within the University and that their particular composition in the student body does have influence in student groups both formal and informal. The particular forms which this influence takes could only be suggested.

However, this preliminary research was never intended to be more than a primarily fact-finding survey and in the dissertation itself the author stated that her aim "was to gain as much information as possible on as many aspects of the subject as possible. Rather than follow up one hypothesis I was intent on building up a reasonably /

reasonably comprehensive picture of the influence of social class in the student body from the viewpoint of both the objective observer and the students involved".

Indeed, it is true that the unstructured nature of this preliminary survey allowed meaningful problems to present themselves which might otherwise have been obscured or overlooked. In a sense the material observed appeared to structure itself.

Findings which emerged from the first survey were of such interest that it seemed valuable to test them as hypotheses of a more general character in differing situations. It was therefore necessary to conduct comparative surveys in two other Universities of widely differing setting and organisation to see if any real conclusions could be drawn about factors in student social relations meaningful in similarly structured situations in different institutional contexts. Differences in residential organisation were particularly relevant since it appeared that spatial relations are a particularly important factor in the formation of student groups. Thus a residential and non-residential University were chosen in widely differing urban settings.

The comparative study which resulted is that presented in this thesis, in which certain primary hypotheses have been proved and certain secondary hypotheses suggested. In a sense the thesis represents three stages in a development of ideas and of a

progressive testing of hypotheses. For since the three surveys were carried out by the researcher over a span of three years the problems which became formulated were in turn tested in the next stage of the enquiry. This presented a unique opportunity of narrowing down the perspective of the research - although the original framework and major areas of investigation remain the same.

However, although the research design encouraged the testing of certain hypotheses concerning social class as a factor in intergroup relations, it nevertheless inhibited the investigation of the problem at the interpersonal and small group level. Since much that was being investigated had to remain basically the same in each survey in order that findings could be directly comparable statistically, the level of analysis could not be taken beyond a certain point. Intra-University research rather than inter-University research would represent the next stage in such an analysis and would necessitate completely fresh research design and technique. This would take the form of analysis of similarly structured situations in the <u>same</u> context and <u>over time</u> - rather than synchronic studies in different contexts. This would represent the dynamic aspects of social relations taking place within the structural and contextual formations analysed here in terms largely of statistical models. It is hoped that the level of analysis reached where the thesis leaves off will be continued in further studies of student relations at small group

level which the present study cannot, and did not, attempt to investigate.

However, what has been attempted has been the narrowing down of focus through a series of interlocking and overlying structures within the institutional context, from the institutional context itself, through various levels of group activity both formal and informal to the interpersonal level of small-group student relations - and in which social class is a meaningful factor. If there are various discrepancies, incongruities and inconsistencies throughout the thesis they reveal that 'something real' is being studied; that the empirical evidence invites explanation rather than that a theoretical model is being furnished with empirical illustration.

The collection of the original empirical evidence was guided by questions which seemed pertinent to the author, at that time herself an undergraduate. Patterns of student participation and leadership, and of formation of groups on social class lines were of interest as much to one participating as observing. The questions first asked on the Edinburgh questionnaire were therefore largely suggested by the material itself than by any preliminary reading of work already done in this field. Also at that time little had been written about British University students, although the volume of this material has been growing steadily ever since.

Thus in a sense the thesis represents a rather particular viewpoint of one who is herself a product of the system which she investigates and whose approach is structured accordingly. The questions asked are of immediate interest to those now passing through the Universities for they are questions which they are themselves asking. The usual time-lag which takes place between research and changes which have been effected is eliminated, for the changes are taking place now. It is for this very reason that the author undertook her comparative survey immediately after graduating - so that her 'student' perspective should not be lost.

For the reasons stated the amount of literature directly related and useful to the survey was limited - although much that was 'peripheral' was of great help and a stimulus to new approaches. Works which the researcher found most helpful either in preparation, or in seeking explanations are discussed in the first Chapter - and it may be seen that in them the usual disciplinary boundaries are crossed and recrossed. For the field of research into higher education is by no means the prerogative of the sociologist, and indeed until recently the sociological contribution has been small - with a few notable exceptions discussed in Chapter I. However, the drawing of rigid disciplinary boundaries is by no means always productive. The researcher would be pleased to think of the present thesis as a very small part of a broad and developing process of ideas and research in a field in which, for convenience, an area has been defined, a problem investigated - but which, in reality, has no

boundaries, no beginning and no end.

Since it is necessary, nevertheless, closely to define the areas under scrutiny the author presents a short preview of topics discussed in the thesis, with hypotheses proved and hypotheses suggested by the material presented.

The author submits that :

<u>The findings discussed show</u> :-

(1) That the social class differentials manifest in the composition of the student bodies of the three Universities have changed very little since the 1944 Education Act and that this may be a result of cultural differences inherent in the different social classes.

It would appear that the lower middle class rather than the working class is benefiting from the expansion of educational opportunity.

This has been noted by other writers.

(2) That social class patterns emerge with regard to:-

(a) Family size of students;

(b) Education of students' siblings;

(c) Education of students' parents;

First generation University students occur in every social class - predominantly the lower middle class.

(d) Motives for coming to University;

(e) Reactions to certain aspects of University organisation and especially,
(i) Residence
(ii) Course of study;

(f) School last attended;

(g) Participation and leadership in student organisations;

Points (a), (b), (c) and (f) have been noted by other writers.

(3) That the social classes in the student body, represented by the one dimensional occupational status of father, constitute real groupings in terms of culture and value patterns within as outside the University, and that this reveals :-

(a) That the occupational status of father implies a whole configuration of social variables, and that such an index is a useful tool for the discovery of other dimensions of social class. The fact that it does not <u>always</u> imply meaningful configurations in the University context reveals difficulties of social class measurement at different times and in different places. The configurations themselves may be changing in composition.

Hence the drawbacks of comparing different studies of social class since it may not be the same thing which is being measured.

(b) That working class students may retain distinct social class characteristics within the predominantly middle class student body, i.e., they do not become automatically 'bourgeoisified' upon entering or being selected by a middle class University, nor are they so a-typical of their social class of origin as to be already middle class.

Certain conditions are necessary for this to take place. General works on 'social class', 'bourgeoisification' and 'social mobility' in other situations are of direct relevance but do not discuss this particular example.

(4) That social class is a factor in student social relations, in both formal and informal student groups, and that this is tacitly or explicitly accepted by students in terms of

(a) Organisation;
(b) Inter-group relations;
(c) Personal attitudes and relations.

This has not previously been investigated since it has been normally assumed that social class is <u>not</u> a significant factor in social relations at the student level - in keeping with the "melting pot" and "educated élite" visions of University. The reason why this kind of assumption of a social class 'osmosis' at University has gone so long unquestioned may be partially a result of the research 'time lag' mentioned earlier. Perhaps the relevance of social class in student social relations

suggests itself as a problem to be investigated less readily to the post-war generation of researchers, who possibly attended University as mature ex-servicemen, than to the products of today's Universities.

(5) That social class as a factor in students' social relations is not always relevant, and that its relevance varies with situation, or perceived situations, and with the variety of other social factors involved and the weighting accorded to each factor in that particular situation.

The 'situation' may be analysed at the institutional, inter-group or interpersonal level, and the same basic factors apply. The 'perceived' situation is a symptom of certain structural relationships governed by these factors.

(a) At the institutional level inter-group relations of members of social classes are influenced by the statistical composition of the social classes in the student body, by internal and overlapping divisions of the social classes, and by the degree of contact which members of different social classes have with each other.

(b) At the small group level situations are patterned in terms of cultural and spatial divisions exhibited by the larger groups in the wider context. The special combinations of these factors operate in such a way that they determine which groups students identify with in the immediate situation and groups to which they refer in a wider context.

Much of what is discussed in terms of situational patterns may be inferred but not proved.

(6) That different social class distributions in residence, faculties and student organisations influences the degree of contact with members of social classes in work, leisure and living accommodation and therefore the degree of mutual adaptation.

In some cases the coincidence of social and spatial distance serves to accentuate existing social class divisions.

(7) That social space is on a continuum so that the influence on students' social relations of University siting, distribution of buildings, situation of room or work bench differs in degree but not kind and may be seen to operate on all the different contextual levels.

Geographical/regional divisions among students represent both cultural groupings sometimes confused with social class, and spatial/cultural reference groups and as such are a dominant factor in students' social relations.

(8) That where social/spatial groups and social class groups tend to have common boundaries social class divisions become dominant and defined - where there is much cross cutting of boundaries social class divisions become blurred and relevant in fewer situations.

It has not been possible within the present framework to study inter-personal space. This would be a topic for further study.

(9) That social class of students is largely attributional in the University context but that it becomes interactional in certain residential situations - or where there is distinct and enduring spatial concentration of social class members. This needs further investigation.

(10) That the mutual transmission of elements of social class culture depends upon the relation of the social classes within the University, i.e., certain conditions are necessary for this to happen or, for example, a working class student to become bourgeoisified (see point 2b).

Students have shown that they acknowledge this to be so. This has implications for the process of social mobility.

(11) That social mobility and social motility should be differentiated in the study of student mobility.

Mobility is the structural property of movement undertaken, motility is possession of the characteristics of motion and need not necessarily imply mobility. Motility refers to the individual potentially mobile. Different combinations of mobility and motility may be used to describe and analyse

different kinds of mobility experience among students. For students do not all experience social mobility at the same time or in the same degree. Patterns of mobility and attitudes to mobility are meaningful in terms of internal value systems of the social classes.

(12) That attitudes to expansion of University places are influenced by the degree of contest or sponsored mobility experienced by the student.

The author submits also that :

The findings suggest but do not prove :-

(1) That there are certain defined social situations in which attributional social class is relevant in social relations, and that the situational patterning itself is probably regulated by the interaction of spatial/cultural factors previously described.

These situations if discovered and analysed would give a clue as to how roles are changed in response to certain social stimuli.

(2) That in these defined situations certain attributes are seen as relevant or irrelevant, in terms of past, actual or vicarious social experience, and those which are seen as relevant are differentially weighted - one of these being

social class.

> The process involved represents the dynamic aspect of role and role performance - or the constant movement between roles. Social class is seen as a variable rather than a constant attribute.

There has been no attempt systematically to discover and isolate a series of defined situations - so that what happens within them may only be inferred. It would be possible to formulate a hypothesis on the basis of findings at other levels of investigation which seem like 'defined situations writ large', as in structured institutional contexts and inter-group as opposed to interpersonal relations.

The testing of such hypotheses would require a fresh research design for investigation at the micro-sociological level. The study of defined situations in which certain attributes are relevant is different in approach from that which analyses groups in possession of a particular attribute in order to discover the relevant situational patterns. It may be said that the present thesis approached the problem of students' social relations from the latter standpoint and attempts to open up some way of combining also the former approach.

In this way the thesis moves further and further away from its first orientations.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

A Review of literature concerned with, or directly related to, the study of education and social class.

In this chapter will be discussed a wide selection of works which 'set the scene' for the findings of the thesis, which were useful in the formulation of particular problems or which have since seemed to offer explanations of material gathered in the surveys. Some research will be discussed which was not written when the research was begun in September 1962. Although this material was not available to the author when first designing the research project, some not even until the writing-up of conclusions, the discussion of some of the latest findings gives an idea of the continuity and development of ideas up to date, and of the position of the thesis in relation to them.

Literature most directly related to the thesis is that concerned with the processes and effects of selection in education and of the way in which higher education as a "scarce commodity" is "distributed according to relevant criteria".[1] The processes of educational selection themselves have attracted the interest of researchers in a wide variety of disciplines who have sought to discover what factors operate, and at what levels, to produce the social class differentials observed to become increasingly marked at each stage

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1. Halsey, A.H. 'Education and Equality', New Society, 17th June, 1965, No. 142.

in the educational process. Although this particular interest is by no means a unique feature of educational research in the last two decades,[1] it would appear to be giving rise to an increasing volume of literature on the subject ever since the effects of the 1944 Education Act became a serious matter for concern. Why this particular theme became a matter for concern is something too broad to be considered in detail, but it is worth noting that one cannot abstract legislation such as the 1944 Education Act from the climate of opinion in which it was conceived, nor yet the speight of research and speculation which has followed hard on its heels. Development within secondary education may have had to wait for changes in the social structure[2], and the necessary time-lag has had to elapse before the effects of those changes could be observed. Now changes in the field of education follow one another more closely, particularly since the Robbins Report[3] threw such a spotlight on higher education, and as change accelerates so the time-lag between policy and research shortens and is promulgated with a new immediacy. The reasons for this are not hard to find.

"Education has always stood necessarily in close relations to

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1. See, for instance, Clarke, F. The Study of Education in England, London, 1942; discussing the possible effects of the 1902 Education Act.

2. Banks, Olive, Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, p. 239.

3. Higher Education Report. London, H.M.S.O., 1963. Cmd. 2154.

class, status and power. In the past half century it has become part of the economic foundations of an industrial society, a major avenue of social mobility, and one of the principal agencies of social distribution. An advanced industrial society is inconceivable without the means through which people are selected and trained for places in a highly diversified labour force. The educational system is accordingly used to establish claims and opportunities. If education is unavoidably an instrument for distributing life chances we can only argue profitably about what kind of distribution is both desirable and profitable".[1]

The study of the selection and allocation functions of education, particularly higher education, is of more than purely academic interest - it is of practical interest to society and to those who seek to shape its future. And for this very reason it is one in which it is very easy to 'take sides' and to become embroiled in heated arguments about the values guiding the formation of social policy - either in response to particular and present problems or with some long-term goal in view.

"But are we planning with some ultimate end in view, or are we engaged in a sparring match with each new economic, technological, or social problem as it comes along, using education only as a means of satisfying immediate needs - the provision of nuclear scientists, for instance, or capable Russian linguists?".[2]

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1. Halsey, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Castle, E.B. Ancient Education and Today, London, 1961, p. 204.

Interminable debates about the 'ultimate end' of education, if such there is, may sometimes obscure the researcher's real task of objective analysis. It is equally true that awareness of the problem of values inherent in his study may heighten his insight and sharpen his reasoning - though not always so. In general it is the sociologist's task explicitly to steer clear of debates on 'social justice', and 'ultimate ends', and one which in the study of education is most difficult to do.

In any study of education and of educational selection it is only too easy to confuse observations of what happens with what ought to happen. However, since ultimately all education is concerned with values and with the intergenerational transmission of values it is necessary to be aware that the dividing line between studies which are concerned primarily with values embodied in the workings of the educational machinery and those which are not is indeed a thin one, and often almost imperceptibly crossed. The sociologist particularly is constantly aware that in a sense any investigation of higher education which is not totally divorced from practical realities implies some judgement or cultural interpretation of what is considered 'just' or 'efficient' or 'profitable' or 'beneficial', and that none of these interpretations should become a built-in assumption of any 'scientific' analysis. This is especially true when one deals with concepts such as "expansion of educational opportunity" - which in themselves imply a whole wealth of social judgements.

While acknowledging that these arguments do exist, and are of immediate interest, the author proposes not to consider them in

this thesis. Debates about the aims and purpose of education in a way which can only hinder the progress of 'sociological analysis' are better left to educational theorists and administrators, who may draw from empirical research which illustrations they choose.

"Ultimately the argument is one about values and their priorities. At this level we may never reach agreement; there is as Tawney said, 'no argument with the choice of a soul' : But in practice we may never need to face each other with these passionate abstractions. Certainly we can start with the facts."[1]

"The facts" about the selection and "allocation" functions of education have recently been steadily mounting so that now there is a considerable body of knowledge about <u>who</u> the process of selection picks out and <u>how</u> - and conversely about reasons <u>why</u> some children are eliminated at any one of the stages from competing 'in the next round'. Thus a comprehensive picture is built up of factors operating for and against success at given educational levels. A great many of these are cultural differences inherent in the very nature of social classes - so that even with expansion of places social class differentials remain. Until fairly recently research concentrated on what happens at the Grammar School level and one could only speculate about the effect of expansion of educational opportunity on class differentials at the level of University entrance. Then in 1963 the Robbins Report did much to show the persistance of social class differentials through time even at the highest level of selection.

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1. Halsey, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 13.

This kind of discovery has led to increased interest in the social class composition of the Universities and in whether this has changed much since the 1944 Act. Some basic questions have been raised by these discoveries, not only about the effects of the Act, or even those before it, but also about the nature of the social classes themselves both as cultural collectivities and means of transmitting basic culture patterns and internalized value systems. This is especially true for those who previously thought in terms of higher education as an enculturation of "an élite" - and an élite which is able or should be able to transmit, preserve and perpetuate an "élite culture"[1] through the means of a sponsored system of social mobility and recruitment. This idea of an 'educated élite' with monopoly of a total culture dies hard, even in a system of expansion designed expressly to bring about a more direct system of competition - and it has led to a failure to ask some of the more obvious and basic questions. The changes in 'student' culture have been investigated or remarked upon without reference to changes in social composition or class culture supposed by other writers to be taking place in response to changes in selection. The studies of 'selection' and of 'allocation' to positions in the social structure have progressed largely in isolation rather than hand in hand - so that what happens before University education is not related to what happens afterwards. There have been no direct studies of the processes of mobility among University students, for instance, since

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1. For example, see Bantock, G.H., Education and Values, Faber and Faber, London, 1965, and Eliot, T.S., Notes towards a definition of culture, Faber and Faber, London, 1965.

it has been assumed that as 'an élite' they are all already middle class whatever their social class of origin.[1] In the light of findngs on class differentials in selection at University level this kind of assumption needs to be challenged. And, it is also pertinent to ask how far today's students may be regarded, or indeed regard themselves, as 'an élite', and how far they retain the values and culture patterns of their parents' social class. This kind of question then turns the focus of interest to what happens to the students inside the University, i.e., to an investigation of the processes of socialisation which may go on in conjunction with those of selection and allocation.

It would seem to be fairly clear that the Universities cannot eradicate all the cultural influences that have affected the student before University - and so turn him out with a new cultural imprint specifically their own - yet this particular problem has never been investigated - nor the conditions necessary for such a process to occur. This is the kind of question which first gave impetus to the present research.

The thesis attempts in some measure to knit together some of the findings on selection and allocation in a way meaningful to the study of socialisation. How far the social class composition has changed or is changing is of interest in the light of previous findings, yet what is of more interest is how the particular distribution of social classes affects the individual experience of higher education and his relations with his fellow students. The studies of life at

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1. For example, Marris, Peter The Experience of Higher Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, p. 156.

University published so far have not attempted in any systematic way to explain the relations of the social classes to each other within the University - perhaps because they have failed to think of them at that stage as social classes - again a sign of the pervasive implications of 'élite culture'. The thesis asks what it means to be a member of a social class within the University context, where and how such membership is meaningful and to whom, and when and how this membership changes. The findings apply to the students of the three Universities studied - but they may have wider implications in the study of social class and social relations in general.

For these reasons the whole field of research into social class, social mobility and inter-group relations are relevant to this study - so that in the body of the text references are made to as many widely differing sources as possible. It has not been possible to review even a fraction of the literature on these topics in this chapter, or even mention more than a sample few in the whole thesis since a total survey represents a superhuman task. Moreover, it is not necessary to discuss the whole field of literature on these topics to be able to analyse and set in context the implications of the findings of the thesis in the rather more defined field of educational sociology. Limits of the area under investigation of necessity must be set - so that literature reviewed is that which deals specifically with the sociological aspects of educational selection and allocation. However, this is by no means all the work of sociologists - and indeed the lack of much sociological research in this field of higher education may in some measure account for the absence of more than speculation about the precise effects of University education on

socialisation, and about the nature of students' social relations.

The researcher has concentrated in this chapter on British research in education and American works are cited rather than discussed, except where they appertain directly to the British situation. This makes it more possible to trace the development of ideas and research taking place in this country in the past two decades. Indeed, the chronological order of some of the studies is of especial interest since it is clear that research is to some extent a 'sign of the times' and similar researches sometimes spring up independently at the same time, and then some time may elapse before new problems are formulated.

Thus one finds growing up independently in the 1950's a small number of studies concerned with the effects of the 1944 Education Act at the Grammar School level, among them the Floud, Halsey and Martin study,[1] which serves as a landmark in this field of investigation. If one is to set in context these studies and those which followed and developed from them one must understand the special implications of the passing of the 1944 Education Act, and the climate of opinion in which it was enacted.

The provisions of the Act were based on educational theories and policies which had been formulated to meet some of the practical and longstanding problems of education between the wars, and of these the Hadow (1926), the Spens (1938) and the Norwood (1943) Reports related most directly to post-primary education.

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1. Floud, J., Halsey, A.H. and Martin, F.M., Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London, Heinemann, 1956.

The Act, which at last brought together into a coherent pattern the three stages of education - primary, secondary and further - provided free compulsory education for everyone up to the age of fifteen years - and in Holmes' words - "superficially at least implied the most radical changes in every sphere of English education"[1]. By making available to all those of sufficient ability, a High School or Grammar School education, it theoretically threw open the Universities to the most gifted members of every social class. The kind of education which until then had been the prerogative of the "privileged classes"[2] of title and wealth was, with the exception of that provided by the 'independent' public and private fee-paying schools to be enjoyed by all who should prove themselves academically to deserve it, irrespective of social origins or economic means.

Local Education Authorities, from whose rates the new secondary schools, like the existing primary schools, were to be financed, were instructed by the Act :-

> "To secure provision of primary and secondary schools sufficient in number, character and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their differing ages, abilities, and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which

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1. Holmes, Brian, Problems in Education:A Comparative Approach, Internat. Lib. of Sociol. and Soc. Reconst., Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 226.

2. Peterson, A.D.C., A Hundred Years of Education, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London, 1952, p. 122.

> they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs".[1]

Education was in all cases to be suited to the recipient. This is a state of affairs which is difficult to achieve in practice. E.B. Castle says that "The Education Act of 1944 recognises the fundamental inequalities in children by making provision for the best kind of appropriate education for all, although, of course, we are far from achieving this. Nevertheless, in theory, at least, both fundamental equalities and fundamental inequalities are recognised".[2]

These "fundamental equalities and fundamental inequalities" are those which form the basis for so much research into higher education and yet as Halsey and Floud say :-

> "The emphasis in investigation has shifted in recent years from study of the material disabilities traditionally underlying these inequalities to attempts on the one hand to identify social factors impinging on the intellectual development of individuals, and on the other hand to explore the social and cultural circumstances affecting their attainment or performance at a given level of ability".[3]

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1. Education Act, 1944. Published in Chitty's Annual Statutes, J. Burke, Vol. 38; 7 & 8 George VI, Part I. No. 8.

2. Castle, op. cit., p. 201.

3. Halsey, A.H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C.A., (Eds.) : Education Economy & Society, Free Press of Glencoe Inc., U.S.A., 1961. Intro.,p.7.

The 1944 Act applied only to England, Wales and Monmouthshire since differences in the Scottish educational system made a uniform application of the Act impracticable. In 1945 the Education (Scotland) Act was passed and was put into operation in 1946. This Act was in many respects a direct parallel of the English Act, and was based like it on the principle of providing free secondary education for all. It differs, however, in various details of its application to the Scottish system as, for instance, in that provision is made for certain types of fee-paying school which do not exist in the English educational system.

> "In general the education provided in public schools and junior colleges was to be without payment of fees, but the customary proviso allowing the retention of a limited number of fee-paying primary and secondary schools by local authorities was continued under the control of the Department. This was in direct contrast to the policy in England where only direct-grant schools were permitted to continue charging fees and it seems to imply that Scottish democracy is less suspect where educational provision is concerned"[1].

It is inappropriate here to compare the English and Scottish educational systems, but it is important to note at this point that they are different and result from different historical processes, and this presumably affects what happens at University level. It has

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1. Knox, H.M., Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 230.

quite often been remarked, for instance, that Scottish education has been of a more "democratic character"[1] than that in England, and that this goes back as far as the educational reforms of James IV of Scotland, who in 1494 first had the idea of compulsory school attendance. Examples of such remarks are found throughout literature on Education, as for example :-

> "The Scottish Parish School has been a symbol of democracy. Further, access to the Universities has been easy. For centuries they were open to all who chose to enter whether as graduating students or as students of particular subjects. Also a University education in Scotland has always been much cheaper than in England".[2]

or, again :-

> "The result was that in the middle of last century the ratio in Scotland of University students to the total population was more than twice what it was in Germany, nearly six times what it was in England".[3]

Paterson, writing of English education in the middle of last century says :-

> "As far as numbers were concerned Scotland was much better off than England and the proportion of boys receiving secondary education was higher than in either Prussia, France or England".[4]

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1. Roman, F.W., New Education in Europe, London, 1924, p. 71.
2. Roman, op. cit., p. 72.
3. Strong, J., History of Secondary Education in Scotland - from early times to the Education Act of 1908. Oxford, 1909, p. 2.
4. Peterson, op. cit., p. 21 (quoting Curtis, S.J.A., History of Education in Great Britain, London, 1948).

These are a few of the historical factors involved which one must bear in mind in any comparison of Scottish and English higher education, such as the present surveys involve. Differences now are slight compared with what they were and as Knox says, "It would appear that Scotland which had a national system of education when England was groping in the dark, has been marking time or even falling behind"[1]; yet it is clear that people who are products of different systems of education, even within the framework of a territorial unit such as the United Kingdom must of necessity differ in certain cultural respects.

If seen as part of a developing process long underway the effects of the 1944 Education Act become more understandable. It is now twenty years since the 1944 Act and those who have benefited from it have not long been passing through the Universities. It is about now that the effects of the Act should be beginning to be felt both in education and in society at large, for the "service of the University activity to man is not restricted to the student who is to be taught but extends directly or indirectly to the whole people"[2]. As researchers in all fields have pointed out, it is vital that we should know what these effects are.

The 1944 Act set up the machinery for providing equality of opportunity and a body of research has been carried out by workers from every discipline to find out how far the ideal is being attained. Halsey has asked : "How far has the 1944 Act redistributed educational

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1. Knox, op. cit., p. 242.

2. Peterson, op. cit., p. 192, quotes Report of German Commission on University Reform, 1949.

opportunity between social strata?"[1], and Jackson and Marsden say : "Everyone working in this field knows that since 1944 there has been a shift in middle class education, and no-one has altogether defined it"[2]. D.V. Glass says of the Act that, 'So far as social stratification is concerned, it is probably the most important measure of the last half century. However, no central provision has been made to ascertain the social consequences of this great expansion of educational opportunity - its effect upon the existing middle class and the formation of new élites'[3].

Studies carried out in the 1950's, particularly in the field of Grammar School education, have shown that the educational system has been sluggish in its response to the Act, and that opportunity can no longer be narrowly defined in the pre-Act terms of provision of places. It became clear that although there was theoretically a random relation between Grammar School places and the social class of those gaining places, in practice the proportions of places were definitely graded between the social classes.

The Floud, Halsey and Martin[4] study of 1956 was one of the earliest of its kind and was to guide further research in this field. Their comparison of gross material factors in environment, measured ability and entry to Grammar Schools in the two areas of south-west Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough, where there was a markedly different level of material culture in the home background of pupils particularly

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1. Halsey, A.H. "Education and Mobility". Talk on B.B.C. Third Programme, April 10th, 1963.
2. Jackson, B., and Marsden, D., Education and the Working Class, (Inst. of Community Studies). Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, p. 9.
3. Glass, D.V. (ed.) Social Mobility in Britain, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
4. Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit.

at the lower social levels, showed that a pupil's success at the Grammar School was influenced by his material background only up to a certain level of material prosperity, and that beyond this other social class factors came into play. Cultural and value patterns such as family size and the attitudes towards and preferences for education of their children by parents are examples of social factors operating in selection. At all levels the parents of successful children "were to a marked degree more interested in and ambitious for their educational future than were the parents of unsuccessful children"[1]. The parents themselves were also better educated.

Floud, Halsey and Martin conclude that "It has now been established beyond doubt that there is a process of social as well as academic selection at work in the schools"[2].

However, the problem they mention of the assimilation of working class children into selective secondary schools with middle class values and expectations has still not been satisfactorily investigated. Following on from their earlier survey, Floud and Halsey in 1957 published an article on "Intelligence Tests, Social Class and Selection for Secondary Schools"[3]. This was an analysis relating to the cohort of boys entering Secondary Schools in the educational division of south-west Hertfordshire in 1952, 1953 and 1954. The fathers' occupations entering in 1952 were obtained by interviews

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1. ibid., p. 88.

2. ibid., p. 114

3. Floud, J. and Halsey, A.H., in B.J.S., VIII, March, 1957, pp.33-39.

with their parents and the authorities supplied the I.Q. of the boys based on performance in the Moray House 37 Intelligence Test, administered as part of the selection procedure. Although the selection procedure was changed and the intelligence test dropped, the same test was administered by the researchers in 1953 and 1954 - but in this case the occupation of father was stated by the boy and was so somewhat less reliable. In doubtful or unclassified cases these were added to the working class group. Floud and Halsey wanted to discover what was the social distribution before and after the change in selection procedure and whether there was equality of opportunity for children of equal ability irrespective of social origins. It was observed that the abolition of the intelligence tests and the associated changes in procedure which depended more on a teacher's individual assessment appear to have resulted in a marked diminuition in the opportunity of working class children, and that in this sense their class chances had deteriorated.

The Early Leaving Report (1954)[1] and the Crowther Report (1959)[2] added to this picture by showing that University entrance figures for the different social classes is out of proportion to the size of the classes in the country. The "Early Leaving" Report estimates that a third of the Grammar School boys who are capable of reaching a standard of at least two passes at Advanced level in G.C.E. leave school before doing so, and that the influence of home background is

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1. Central Advisory Council for Education, Report (England). H.M.S.O. "Early Leaving", 1954.

2. Central Advisory Council for Education. Report, "15-18". H.M.S.O., 1959.

the major cause. The 15 per cent of all school children originating from the professional and managerial classes account for 25 per cent of Grammar School population and contribute 43.7 per cent of those reaching the Sixth Form of the Grammar School, whereas the 12 per cent from the homes of unskilled workers account for 5.6 per cent of Grammar School pupils and contribute only 1.5 per cent of Sixth Formers.

Say Floud and Halsey in their Reader, Education Economy and Society, "Wastage from the Grammar Schools as the Central Advisory Council clearly recognized is a social class problem. The traditionally middle class schools are evidently failing to assimilate large numbers of the able working class children who win their way into them".[1]

The Crowther Report shows that in terms educational opportunity the "pool" of talent is nowhere near exhausted. Table 3 shows that 42 per cent of the one-tenth most able English boys leave school by sixteen years, and that boys from non-manual homes have a much higher expectation of long school life than boys from manual homes. Nine per cent boys from unskilled manual homes stayed on at school beyond seventeen years; 38 per cent of those from professional homes did so. The Report also found a "clear and consistent relation" as did the earlier Floud, Halsey and Martin study "between size of family and ability", which was visible in every occupational group.

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1. Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit., Chap. 9 : Floud and Halsey, "English Secondary schools and the supply of labour".

An interesting corollary to this finding is the study of MacPherson (1958)[1] which illustrates statistically that completion of the five-year Leaving Certificate Course in Scottish schools is more dependent upon occupancy (persons per room) than upon intelligence within the range I.Q. 120+. This relates also to the factor of family size. These are the results from a seven-year follow-up of 1,200 children from the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey. Of the 1,200 seventy-five (6.2 per cent) obtained three Highers and two Lowers. On the basis of I.Q's and teachers' estimates 108 ought to have reached this standard. The two factors responsible which MacPherson isolates are (i) personality and (ii) socio-economic obstruction. The success of a group of 72 boys with I.Q's 120-145 were analysed in relation to (a) occupancy rate; (b) occupational class of father; (c) I.Q. level. The results showed a relation between (a) and (b) and completion of course which was independent of I.Q. at most levels of I.Q.

These surveys have shown that members of the working class are not congenitally less intelligent than members of the other social classes, i.e., that the range of intelligence is much the same - and this in itself is not sufficient explanation of the working class failure to take advantage of educational opportunities.

John Nisbet (1953)[2] tests the hypothesis that family size has a direct effect on the environmental aspect of mental development. "This

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1. MacPherson, John S., Eleven Year Olds Grow Up. London : Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1958.

2. Nisbet, John D., "Family Environment and Intelligence", Eugenics Review, XLV, 1953, pp. 31-42.

hypothesis derives from the view that language and words afford a system of symbols which greatly increase the efficiency of abstract thought". Family environment means here the contact between the child and the adult and its relation to learning processes. The ability to manipulate verbal symbols - so necessary to educational achievement seems to play an important part in thinking and in particular problem solving.

In the study the test scores of 2,500 children at the stage of transfer from primary to secondary education in Aberdeen were correlated with various factors - (i) partial correltation of family size and verbal identity with intelligence held constant; (ii) correlation of family size and several tests with different verbal loadings; (iii) correlation of family size and intelligence at different ages. Nisbet comes to the conclusion that it seems that part (though not all) of the negative correlation of family size and intelligence tests scores may be attributed to an environmental influence of the size of the family on verbal development and through it on general mental development.

The relation of verbal ability and skills to family background is a central theme which Bernstein deals with in his paper, "Some Sociological Determinants of Perception"[1] (1958). Bernstein postulates that children from extreme social groups are exposed from an early age to separate and distinct patterns of learning before their formal education begins. "Speech marks out what is relevant - affectively, cognitively and socially - and experience is transformed by that which is made relevant."[2]

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1. Bernstein, Basil, Article in B.J.S., IX, June, 1958, pp. 159-74.

Evidence suggests that level of linguistic skill may be independent of the potential I.Q. - certainly independent of measured non-verbal I.Q.

Bernstein illustrates the difference between what he calls public and formal language - both of which are learned by the middle class child, while the working class child learns only public language. The middle class child grows up in an ordered rational structure in which his total experience is organised from an early age and in which he is given more subtle cues for action than the working class child. Public language encourages an immediacy of interaction and is the "linguistic form that maximises the means of producing social rather than individual symbols".[1] In public language what is not said is as important or more important than what is said. A linguistic environment limited to a public language is likely to produce (from the point of view of formal education) deleterious effects - both cognitive and affective which are difficult to modify.

Bernstein asserts that for the working class child a situation is created of mechanical learning with its implication of forgetting when the original stimuli are removed - since new words have no cognitive framework to fit into. Where culture induces a low level of conceptualisation associaional rather than "gestalt" learning in children is more efficient.

Bernstein's hypothesis are stimulating and plausible - but one is left wondering whether his examples of "extremes" as pure 'ideal' types do not always correspond to reality, and indeed linguists have said that these assertions have yet to be tested empirically and scientifically.

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1. ibid.

In his research for the article "Language and Social Class" (1960)[1] Bernstein does in fact make an attempt to subject his hypothesis to empirical testing. He gave a group verbal/non-verbal intelligence test to over 370 working class youths matched for education and occupation. Results showed that language scores were grossly depressed in relation to scores on the higher ranges of the non-verbal tests. A second study showed that the relation found between verbal and non-verbal test scores for the working class was not found in the Public School group.

It would seem that these findings and others, along with work such as that done by Shatzman and Strauss[2] in the U.S.A., seem to go some way to proving certain of Bernstein's assertions but there is still much work yet to be done in this field.

It is interesting to note that in any discussion of family environment and verbal ability it is the relationship with the mother which is most often stressed. Naturally both parents take part in the teaching/learning process and Nisbet points out in his work on relation of family size and intelligence discussed above that one must take into account the amount of contact between adult and child and the consequent stimulation of the child's verbal development.[3] Jean Floud has pointed out[4] that initial communication to the child is through

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1. Bernstein, Basil, Article in B.J.S. B.J.S., XI, 1960, pp. 271-76.

2. Shatzman, L. and Strauss, A., "Social class and modes of communication", A.J.S., LX, January, 1955, pp. 329-38.

3. Nisbet, op. cit.,

4. Glass, op. cit., Chapter X.

the mother and that it is the mother/child relationship which is most crucial in the achievement of learning skills.

In his article on "The School Class as a Social System"[1], Talcott Parsons endorses the view that it is primarily the mother and her influence on the children which backs up the education process in terms of her part in the socialisation process. Parsons discusses the school class as a social system and shows the relation of its structure to its primary functions in society as an agency of socialisation and allocation of roles. Individual personalities are made motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles and learn commitment to the values of the role within the structure.

In Family Socialization and Interaction Processes[2], Parsons goes more fully into the processes by which school emancipates the child from his primary emotional attachment to the family and helps him to internalize the values and norms of the society. Yet this is seen as part of a continuum begun in the home. An important development is the differentiation of the school class in terms of achievement and valuation of achievement, and the process of selection and allocation of society's human resources relative to the adult role system.

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1. Parsons, T., Article in Harvard Educational Review, XXIX, (Fall, 1959), pp. 297-318. Reprinted in Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit.

2. Parsons, T. and Bales, R.F., et. al., Family Socialization and Interaction Process, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955. (See Chapter IV).

Support for the hypothesis which remains largely untested of the mother's crucial role in this lies in the evidence of, among others, the Floud, Halsey and Martin survey which showed that the mother of the successful Grammar School child was more likely to have higher occupational status than the father.[1] Floud and Halsey in Chapter 9 of Education, Economy and Society say : "Thus the working class child who secures a Grammar School place tends to come from a small family, his father is more likely to have received some form of further education, his mother to have received something more than elementary schooling, and, before marriage, to have followed an occupation 'superior' to that of his father. These factors are reflected in a complex of attitudes favourable to educational success and social mobility, and differences of this kind in home background presumably underline differences in motivation which in the absence of gross economic handicaps are the key to differences in performance in a substantial borderline range of ability".[2]

Jackson and Marsden also suggest further evidence on this point in their study of 88 working class Grammar School children. Both parents of successful Grammar School children proved in most cases to be very interested in the children's education and "Grammar School for their children was a new extension of living for themselves too" - though, of course, this did not hold true in every case. Jackson and Marsden suggest that in working class families it is the mother who often has the greatest influence on a child's education and that if

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1. Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit.

2. Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit. Chapter 9, p. 87.

she herself has had a grammar school education there is increased likelihood that her children will go.[1] This has important implications for the study of the potential mobile - or motile student.

The Crowther Report (pp. 15,16) also notes a correspondence of better education among parents and greater success in school. It will be realised that these environmental factors discussed which have bearing upon educational success are largely cultural, rather than based on primarily material living standards. Little and Westergaard point to this fact in their article in the 1964 British Journal of Sociology, summarising earlier findings : "A good deal of recent work has pointed to the important, and almost certainly increasing role of cultural rather than crude material factors in perpetuating educational inequalities. Class differences in educational aspirations, occupational orientations, language, intellectual climate and so on".[2]

T.H. Marshall had made the same point twelve years earlier when after remarking of places in a school that "it may look at first as if the bourgeousie had, as usual, filched what should have gone to the workers" - he says - "And since the (middle class) children were backed by a better educational tradition and stronger parental support because most of their families could afford to forgo earnings of the children because they came from more comfortable homes, where it was easier to work, and from smaller families, were certain to be more successful".[3]

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1. Jackson and Marsden, op. cit., pp. 112-22.

2. Little, A. and Westergaard, J., "The trend of class differentials in educational opportunity in England and Wales", B.J.S., Vol. XV, No. 4, Dec., 1964.

3. Marshall, T.H., "Social Selection in the Welfare State", Eugenics Review, Vol. XLV, 1953, No. 2.

Dael Wolfle in his study "America's Resources of Specialised Talent" (1954) showed that chances of graduating from college in America varied from over 40 per cent for children of professional and managerial fathers to some 6 per cent to 10 per cent for children from the families of manual workers and farm families. He says, "granted that there are many exceptions to these contrasted conditions, the statistical fact has been demonstrated many times that the socio-economic background of the child is related to school retardation, academic grades, age of leaving school and percentage of youngsters who remain in school to a designated level".[1]

The selection of works discussed reveal that the weight of evidence was accumulated in the 1950's to show that as "this process of (educational) elimination goes on so the relative prospects of survival between children of different social origins becomes steadily less equal"[2] (Little and Westergaard), and that in Halsey's words this "problem in essence is one of bridging a cultural gap which is not often recognised for what it is".[3]

A survey carried out by Douglas (1964) showed that the position had not changed since previous surveys, with regard to social class differentials in education and the influence of home environment on school

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1. Wolfle, Dael, America's Resources of Specialised Talent, New York, Harper and Bros., 1954, p. 162. Reprinted in Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit.
2. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.
3. Halsey, A.H., "British Universities and Intellectual Life", Universities Quarterly, XII, February, 1958.

performance.[1] This large scale national follow-up survey of children born in 1946 indicates marked social differentials in the chances of admission to grammar and technical schools as between children of similar measured ability. These children entered the secondary schools in the late 1950's. Douglas found the same class differentials as in 1938 which indicated that the 1944 Act had had little effect in reducing the influence of social factors.

Halsey suggests that this brings us to the question of a person's 'educability'. Educational performance, he says, is an "alchemy of home and school".[2] As it has been seen that the lower the social origins of a child the more it falls back in grammar school, and that the working class child who succeeds academically is usually "a-typical in family attitudes and psychology"[3], it seems apparent that there are obstacles to higher education in the working class culture and that reduced educability is rooted in working class family life.

However, it is important to distinguish between ability to reach a certain level of education and actual general performance at any given level. Little and Westergaard clearly make this point in their paper. They point out in the highest ability group fewer children from manual than non-manual homes have higher education. "Clearly, we must distinguish between factors determining the level of education reached and factors determining performance at any given level.

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1. Douglas, J.W.B., The Home and the School, MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1964.

2. Halsey, (Talk) op. cit.

3. ibid.

Social class strongly influences the level reached but (as measured by broad classifications of parental occupation) it appears to have no marked effect on performance at the upper level of secondary and in higher education".[1]

Towards the end of the 1950's and concomitant with these studies there was a growing interest in the effect of the expansion of educational opportunity at the level of University entrance, since numbers in places had expanded rapidly from 50,000 1938-39 to 82,000 1954-55 (later up to 118,000 1962-63).[2] One of the first of this kind of study to appear was that made by Klingender and published in 1954.[3] The problems investigated were of the same nature as those investigated at Grammar School level and there was a growing interest to see whether the same forces and processes would be seen to be at work one stage further on. Klingender investigated the social and family background of students at University College, Hull, 1951-1952. This was a fast growing college, and Klingender felt that being new and non-traditional it would be a likely place in which to find evidence of any impact of the 1944 Act.

Since this survey took place before most of those mentioned, one must remember that a great deal of evidence was not then available to the author of the 1951 survey.

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1. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.

2. Robbins, Higher Education Report, op. cit., Table 3, p. 15.

3. Klingender, F.D., "Students in Changing World", I & II. Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, Vol, 6, i & ii, 1954.

The results of Klingender's survey were as follows, in terms of social class composition :-

	Men %	Women %	All %
Middle Class	20	34	25
Lower Middle Class	42	40	41
Working Class	38	26	34
Total	100	100	100

Klingender concluded that if Hull reflected to a marked degree changes in the nation as a whole, then it is the lower middle class who had taken advantage of the policies of the 1944 Act. It seemed that women were still drawn from the middle and upper classes.

In the 1959 Yearbook of Education[1] in a comparative survey of the social class composition of student bodies in different countries, England had had no comparable data - although various studies had been carried out in the United States for example. One of the first attempts to speculate on national social class composition of students was made in Social Mobility in Britain[2] in 1954. This study indicated that approximately 26 per cent of University graduates came from working class families during the past 30 or 40 years - thereby indicating a rather limited influence of the 1944 Act.

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1. Yearbook of Education, London, Evans, 1950, pp. 639-44.

2. Glass, op. cit.

While surveys in grammar schools went on through the 1950's much was merely speculation about University entrance level until the survey conducted by R.K. Kelsall for the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth in 1955-56, and published in 1957.[1] This did much to fill the gaps in information about what happened to the successful sixth formers from the grammar schools.

Kelsall found that only 25 per cent of University entrants were from manual workers' families - although according to the 1951 Census 72 per cent of adult males in Britain followed manual occupations. The results showed clearly that similar environmental and cultural factors were operating to the disadvantage of the working class at both the grammar school and University entrance levels.

One in every four of the non-manual middle class children who entered a grammar school type course at 11, eventually went on to a University but only one in 15 to one in 20 of the grammar school entrants from unskilled working class homes did so. Disparities later on are mainly noticeable among girls, although inequalities in sex are not important until the sixth form. Then disparity between the social classes widens down the social scale for the resources necessary for the working class child to overcome obstacles on the way to a university place are rarely expended on a girl. An unskilled manual worker's daughter has a chance of one in 500-600 of entering a University and a 100 times lower than a girl of the professional class.

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1. Kelsall, R.K., Report on an Enquiry into Applications for Admission to Universities, Assoc. of Univs. of the British Commonwealth, London, 1957.

Further data was given on this point by the Robbins Report[1] (1963). The Report uses some of the pre-war data for brief comparison of access to Universities then and now for the last thirty years. The startling evidence shows that University entrance in 1960 compared with earlier years indicates no increase in the working class share. Commenting on these facts, Little and Westergaard say : "It is likely that qualified working class sixth formers rather more often than those from middle class homes fail either to seek or to obtain entry to Universities and go instead to technical colleges, training colleges, or directly into the labour market"[2].

Direct evidence of this is shown in the Sandford, Couper and Griffin[3] article (June, 1965) which investigates student motivation to higher education in the light of home background. The authors carried out a survey in March 1963 of 414 students at Bristol College of Science and Technology and compared it with the findings on the composition of Nottingham University (Allen, et. al., 1962). They found Classes IV and V (Registrar General's classification) under-represented at both institutions - though there was a higher proportion of Class III at the College of Advanced Technology and less Class I & II. In Bristol, the combined classes III, IV and V comprised 55 per cent of the student population, in Nottingham University 34 per cent. The authors attribute differences in class composition to differing degrees of support of parents for higher education, and the lack of confidence

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1. Higher Education. Appendix I, Cmnd. 2154-I. London, 1963, p. 54, Table 14.

2. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.

3. Sandford, C.T., Couper, M.E., and Griffin, S., "Class Influences in Higher Education", Br. J. of Educ. Psychology, Vol. XXXV, Pt. 2, June, 1965.

of working class sixth-formers in applying for University. The "working class parents emphasised the view of the importance of job training"[1]. The course at the C.A.T. was also not thought to be so incompatible with the working class home environment. "Indeed, one student said that his relations with his family were better now that he had left a middle class type of school"[2].

This is another example of the enduring influence of social class values even in times of growth of educational opportunity and material affluence.

The expansion of the Universities has been seen if anything to benefit the children of the middle class and skilled workers more than those from semi-skilled and unskilled workers' homes, and evidence suggests that the successful working class child comes from an a-typical home, while "many children with this capacity (to achieve at least two 'A' level passes) are precluded from demonstrating it because of environmental handicaps"[3].

How far the successful students are 'uncharacteristic' and how far they remain typical needs further investigation.

Robbins shows that the proportion of children from non-manual homes reaching courses of degree level is about eight times as high as the proportion from manual homes.[4]

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1. ibid., p. 190.
2. ibid., p. 192.
3. Furneaux, W.D., "The too few chosen, and the many that could be called", pp. 59-79 in Sociological Review : Monograph No. 7, (ed. Paul Halmos), p. 69.
4. Higher Education. Appendix I, op. cit., pp. 55-59.

"In fact the survey showed that the educational attainment of young people of the same measured ability differed widely according to their social class".[1]

The lesson of the grammar schools has been taught - that increased provision of places does not mean increased equality of educational opportunity - and this is one the Universities are learning. Little and Westergaard point out that: "The widening of the educational provisions does not by itself reduce social inequalities in educational opportunity; it does so only if the expanding facilities are made proportionately more accessible to those children previously least able to take advantage of them. To some extent this has happened. Conclusions concerning reductions in class differentials will thus be conditioned by the relative weight one attaches to the proportion achieving, as opposed to the proportion who fail to achieve, selective secondary school education. But even on the more favourable basis the reduction is neither very large nor a unique phenomenon of the 1944 Act".[2]

Thus, clearly, unlimited expansion as proposed by the Robbins Report - will not in itself narrow class differentials at University entrance level.

Two recent comparative studies of specific Universities add more information to the analysis of the social class composition of Universities. Both Zweig[3] (1963) and Marris[4] (1964), although discussing

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1. ibid., p. 52.
2. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.
3. Zweig, Ferdynand, The Student in the Age of Anxiety - A survey of Oxford and Manchester students. Heinemann, London, 1963.
4. Marris, op. cit.

student life and culture in general give figures on social class background of students interviewed. Although in Zweig's case the sample of Oxford and Manchester could hardly be called representative it is interesting to compare them with Marris' figures from Cambridge, Leeds and Southampton Universities and Northampton College of Technology. In both cases social class is based on parental occupation. The sizes of the sample involved - 102 (Oxford), 103 (Manchester), 112 (Cambridge), 86 (Leeds), 96 (Southampton) and 92 (Northampton) - are clearly rather too small from which to draw conclusions about general trends. A table in which the author puts the various findings together is as follows :-

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Social Class	C'bridge %	Oxford %	Leeds %	Mancs. %	N'ton. %	S'ton. %
U.M.C. Professional	75	80	45	48	45	32
L.M.C. White collar	15	13	25	21	25	36
W.C. Manual	8	9	30	33	30	30
Not known	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total	100	102	100	102	100	100

Despite the size of samples some amazing similarities emerge between certain of the Universities. As one might expect, Oxford and Cambridge appear as the most upper middle class universities. Then follows the redbrick Northern Universities of Leeds and Manchester,

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1. Marris, op. cit., p. 185, Table 1 ; and Zweig, op. cit., p. 11 and p. 93 (combined).

corresponding in composition to Northampton C.A.T. Rather surprisingly, Southampton University stands on its own. Given then that there is no real 'national' level of expansion of educational opportunity and that different regions and institutions will exhibit quite different tendencies and class composition, one is left with the question as to why and how this should happen and how the different social class composition affects differently the different institutions and student culture. This question neither author attempts to answer. It is a question which the present thesis investigates.

In that both books deal primarily with total student culture they will be discussed again later. Suffice it to say at this stage that the general working class share of University places standing at 30 per cent does not represent the great influx that was expected.

A study for an unpublished B.Ed. thesis by McDonald in Glasgow (1964) goes even further to show that "the general pattern of class representation as seen in the present samples has changed little in the fifty year period (1910-1960), certainly not sufficiently to be statistically significant".[1] McDonald took three samples from University records of matriculated students in 1910, 1934 and 1960 and classified them according to the Registrar General's classification of occupations. Although he admits that he had difficulty in weighting samples and in allowing for the changing status of occupations, he comes up with the

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1. McDonald, I.J., "Educational Opportunity at University level in Scotland assessed in the light of a comparison of the social origins of a sample of students in the University of Glasgow in the years 1910, 1934 and 1960". Unpublished B.Ed. Thesis, Glasgow University, 1964, p. 56.

interesting finding that the size of the working class in the University had remained at around 30 per cent for 50 years. The only marked changes which had gone on were in the professional and "white collar" classes - the former having shrunk slightly and the latter expanded to compensate - again a small sign of the advantage taken by the lower middle class.

If these figures can be relied upon they would seem to point to the fact that in the institutions mentioned at least, the 1944 Act has hardly begun to take effect yet, and that overall expansion has been felt equally by the classes - so that differentials remain. This despite the fact that Zweig, Marris and McDonald all put the working class percentage as higher than the 25 per cent estimated by Kelsall.[1]

It is at this point that one asks whether the same thing is being measured in each case.

Little and Westergaard comment: "In terms of the broad categories distinguished here, the social class composition of the student body in the Universities has remained roughly the same during the past three to five decades - this despite expansion, maintenance grants for students, and the changes which occurred in secondary school provision".[2]

For those who had hoped for great changes in educational opportunity these findings present a gloomy prospect. The stability in class differentials over long periods of time might suggest some stability in inter-generational mobility rates when higher education is one of the main avenues to social advancement. Although general works on social mobility have contemplated this question they have little to tell us about

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1. Kelsall, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

2. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.

the process of mobility going on at the University, nor about how such mobility is achieved. This constitutes a major interest of the thesis.

Glass's study[1] in 1954 had speculated that the provisions associated with the 1944 Act might eventually increase the frequency of social mobility and that increased "educational" mobility may be counter-balanced by decreased "career mobility". The research reported was concerned with the processes of social selection and differentiation at work in Britain, the formation of social strata and the nature, composition and functions of those strata, in terms of a general investigation of social mobility. One particular investigation set out to examine the relationship between the social status of fathers and sons. This was supplemented by a study of self-recruitment in four professions - related particularly to University students. Glass and his associates stress that in fact the sample under study had passed through the system before the 1944 Education Act and were thus products of the 1870 and 1902 Acts. In the period before 1944 social origins and education tended to reinforce each other and thus acted cumulatively to produce a close association between social status of father and son. This was especially true for the higher levels of social status.

In the measure of association between social status of father's and son's occupations the norm chosen postulates a random association between the occupations of fathers and son. By the index of association used if parental and filial association were random the index in both cases would be 1.0. Among men whose fathers were manual workers the index was 1.16. A comparable index for men whose fathers were professional

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1. Glass, op. cit.

was 13.16 - showing a far higher degree of self-recruitment at upper levels of social prestige.

D.V. Glass and J.R. Hall[1] say that the "study has shown almost throughout an association in status between fathers and sons significantly higher than would be expected on a basis of 'perfect mobility' as well as highly significant differences between the degrees of association for the various strata into which the men covered by the inquiry were classified. The second main result is a negative one - the conclusion that, according to our data, there have been no major differences between successive generations in the overall intensity of the status association between fathers and sons".

Glass also concludes that the type and level of education attained by the subjects who co-operated in the investigation depended very heavily upon the social status (as measured in terms of occupation) of the subjects' fathers - but as Hilde Himmelweit points out "secondary education of the grammar school type provides the main avenue for upward social mobility for the children of the working class"[2].

In his study of social mobility in Sweden (1958), Göstra Carlsson says : "It might be that the extension of the services of the educational system to larger groups makes education a more important criterion for future career and other things, including parents' status, less important that it removes most of the delayed effects. Whether this will be true or not seems hard to say. Perhaps society as a whole

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1. ibid., Chapter 8, p. 126.

2. ibid., Chapter 6, p. 141.

will become more "education conscious" or even "school ridden" and therefore apt to forget other grounds of distinction, including parents' status. It might, however, equally well be argued that the more general prevalence of higher education will make for instance employers more prone to take other things into consideration"[1].

These questions have yet to be further examined in the British context. Carlsson concludes in his study that in Sweden : "To be sure schooling appears as an asset for those who have it, but hardly the decisive factor in the majority of cases where people have moved upwards on the social ladder. Neither does education appear to remove other influences of parental social status on the future status of the son. No-one has assumed that education (beyond the elementary level) is a sufficient and necessary prerequisite of social advancement, but perhaps it is a little further from being so than we have been aware of. The strong interest in the recruitment of certain élite groups, above all in the learned professions and related groups - the category sociologists themselves belong to - may have influenced our perspective too much"[2].

Here we have some kind of challenge to the idea of education as transmitting an élite culture, valid also in the British context. In a wider sense, Havighurst (Paper 11 of Education, Economy and Society)[3] in "Education and Mobility in Four Societies" makes what he calls 'highly

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1. Carlsson, Göstra, Social Mobility and Class Structure, CWK, Gleerup, Lund, 1958, p. 126.

2. ibid., p. 137.

3. Havighurst, Robert V., Paper 11, Floud Halsey and Martin, op. cit., p. 109.

tentative comparisons' of national mobility rates and the differences between group mobility and individual mobility. He says (p. 109) "In England, also, the proportion of manual workers' position in the labour force seems not to have declined since 1900". In paper 10 of the same book, A.S. Becker stresses that "Education being at the same time a symbol of social position and a means by which higher position may be achieved the amount of access to it is one of the keys to the amount of mobility possible in a society".[1] This view differs slightly from Carlsson's described above. Bendix and Lipset in Social Mobility in Industrial Society interpret the evidence that "the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in industrial societies in various Western countries"[2], in terms of a "threshold" theory of more or less constant rates of mobility, beyond a certain stage of economic development.

This and other studies such as that by Miller[3] - although providing interesting national and international comparisons leave unanswered many questions about the nature and structure of mobility and the actual processes by which it is achieved. One is left with questions about the impact of mobility on the social structure such as that raised by Hicks in The Social Framework - " A less tangible question both because it has not been subject to investigation, so that present knowledge is limited and because the effect of reforms is necessarily very

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1. Becker, Howard, S., Paper 10 "Schools and Systems of Stratification", ibid., p. 93.

2. Bendix, Rand and Lipset, S.M., (ed.): Class Status and Power - A Reader in Social Stratification, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1953, p. 13.

3. Miller, S.M., "Comparative Social Mobility", Current Sociology, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1960.

gradual - is the influence of Twentieth Century changes in education upon the skill of the working population".[1]

These questions have not yet been answered. Studies of rates of mobility and individual mobility experience have tended to concentrate on job choice and occupational mobility and the way it influences and is influenced by social class in both material and cultural ways.

Jahoda[2] (1952) took a sample of adults in the urban areas and asked what occupation they would like their son to enter. More than one-fifth chose a profession, less than 8 per cent a clerical job and commonest choice, 36 per cent, was for a skilled trade. This latter represented an aspiration for security and mobility in terms with reality. Choices were made in terms of class values - therefore office work ranked low.

Kelsall[3] found that of University male entrants in 1955, 23 per cent had no classifiable occupation in mind; of the rest, 90 per cent contemplated a profession (including teaching, research and the civil service); only 10 per cent envisaged industry or commercial occupations. What we know of the diverse but mainly middle class composition would seem to show a shift of aspirations up the scale with higher status or higher education. A note on self-recruitment of professions is shown[4] in that medical undergraduates who were doctors' sons

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1. Hicks, J.R., The Social Framework, London, 1942, p. 192.

2. Jahoda, G., "Job attitude and job choice among secondary modern school leavers", Occupational Psychology, April and Oct., 1952.

3. Kelsall, op. cit., Table 179.

4. ibid., Table 18(a).

constituted 16.4 per cent of all men proposing to study medicine. A study of professional recruitment is briefly touched on in the thesis.

A recent article by Blau tells us more about certain features of the occupational structure in the "flow of occupational supply and recruitment"[1]. The units of analysis are seventeen occupational groups into which the American labour force has been divided. Blau contributes something to the understanding of mobility structure by focussing attention on relations among substructures, which are characterised by the direction and flow of manpower between them.

More studies of this type are needed along with studies of individual mobility experience before we can begin to separate out the variables which make up this complex phenomenon. The scope of the thesis findings are extremely limited in this respect, but may add something to the growing amount of evidence.

Lockwood and Goldthorpe[2] (1963) are of great help on this particular score in outlining a new approach to the study of 'embourgeoisement'. Although they analyse the process of implied changes in values, attitudes and aspirations going hand in hand with the economic changes of the affluent worker, their postulations are equally applicable in the study of the 'embourgeoisement' of students. They put forward the idea that mobility is experienced in terms of the economic, normative and relational aspects of class and that therefore embourgeoisement must be discussed in these terms, although it has not been done so far;

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1. Blau, Peter M., "The Flow of Occupational Supply and Recruitment", Am. Soc. Review, Aug. 1965, Vol. 30, No. 4.

2. Lockwood, D. and Goldthorpe, J.H., "Affluence and the British Class Structure", Sociol. Review, 1963, Vol. 11, p. 133.

that 'embourgeoisement' - or change in value and culture patterns and acceptance by the group to which one aspires (i.e., assimilation) is only the last in a process of progressive stages and that in order to understand mobility one needs studies "of the individual's basic social imagery and the related normative predispositions".

Since occupational and educational mobility implies movement away from the social class of origin and all that implies in terms of relationship with parents and peers, it is extremely important to ask also what kind of forces and personalities result in individual mobility - and what the effect is on the individual, the group which he has left and the group to which he aspires - in terms of a restructuring of relationships. Very little has been done on this in a sociological sense - although there are one or two socio-psychological studies. Much more work is needed in this field and researchers have realised this.

Elder[1] draws from evidence of five surveys conducted in the late 50's and early 60's, and relevant research in monographs and articles to explore the effect of allocation and 'streaming' on opportunity and personality, which may have relevance for studies of individual mobility or what the researcher prefers to call 'motility'.

Elder draws the conclusion that "the primary effect of student allocation may be in the child's self image, both as a student and more generally as a person." Moreover, he says that "the restriction of a youth's opportunities, coupled with the punishment associated with failing,

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1. Elder, Glen H., Jr., "Life Opportunity and Personality : Some Consequences of stratified secondary education in Great Britain". Institute of Internat. Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 94720. Reprint No. 170.

tends to engender a negative self image which in turn is apt to be associated with an underutilisation of mental abilities".[1]

McLelland, Strodtbeck and McKinlay[2] are among the writers who have drawn attention to the fact that certain personalities are more predisposed to mobility than others, (i.e., they are what the author in her study of students will term 'motile'). The question of why some people should move socially and others not, given similar opportunities, is another question of absorbing interest in any study of social class - particularly in studies of student selection. Strodtbeck postulates that the consequences of a boy's upward mobility from lower status depends on the pattern of source of authority in family. Ascriptive role dissatisfaction and compensative achievement role activity shows the individual's alienation from or hostility to his father. (Other studies have shown that this is only true of the highly mobile individual). His study showed that upwardly mobile sons came from families in which the father exercised less authority and the mothers somewhat more. McKinlay endorses this view and says that his findings point to the fact that individuals who are gaining status in the achieved roles (and therefore possibly experiencing inconsistency because their ascribed statuses are lagging behind) originate in families where the father is less powerful and the mother more powerful. This kind of hypothesis needs to be tested further along with others such as that of Jackson and Marsden that

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1. ibid., p. 176.

2. See McLelland, D.C., et. al., Talent and Society, Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1958, containing Strodtbeck, F.L., "Family Interaction Values and Achievement" pp. 135-194; McLelland, D.C., et. al., "The Achievement Motive", New York Appleton, Century Crofts Inc., 1953; McKinlay, D.G., "Social Class and Family Life", Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1964, p. 191.

the system selected not only individuals - it selected families.[1] Jackson and Marsden, Lockwood[2] and others have pointed out "the stress and tension of striving under difficult conditions" - with its implications for personality changes. These are some of the hypotheses which the author takes up in her thesis.

Turner makes valuable contributions to our understanding of the framework of mobility in which these mobility experiences are set in his paper "Sponsored and Contest Mobility", and of the school system especially where it relates to values and cultural differences. He explores the view that much empirical work has to be done and states that "a search for personality - forming experiences specific to a sponsorship system has yet to be made".[3]

In his paper he suggests a framework for relating differences between the American and English systems of education to the prevailing norms of upward mobility. He suggests two ideal-typical normative patterns of upward mobility - contest and sponsored mobility. In the former system élite status is the prize of competition, whereas in the latter the élite recruits are chosen by the established élite or their agents - so that what is 'given' cannot be 'taken'. This patterning affects the school system since one of its functions, as has been already pointed out, is that of facilitating mobility. A sponsored system arises more readily in a society with a single élite, with some monopoly of 'credentials'. When multiple élites compete amongst themselves the mobility process tends to take the contest patterns "since no group is able

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1. Jackson and Marsden, op. cit., p. 126
2. Lockwood, D., "Can we cope with social change?", New Society, Nov. 28th, 1963.
3. Turner, Ralph, H., "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System", Am. Sociol. Review, Vol. XXV, 1960, No. 5. Reprinted in Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit.

to control command of recruitment"[1].

Turner suggests that "English society has been described as the juxtaposition of the two systems of stratification - the urban, industrial class system and the surviving aristocratic system". Changes in stratification have however "taken place within the unchallenged organizing norms of sponsored mobility"[2].

"Under contest mobility there is not the same apparent homogeneity of moral, aesthetic and intellectual values to be emulated so that the conspicuous attribute of the élite is their superior level of material consumption". Under sponsored mobility schooling is valued for its cultivation of élite culture and those forms of schooling directed toward such cultivation are more highly valued than those who are not"[3].

These analyses are relevant to the study of student attitudes to expansion undertaken by the author.

Dropout rates are higher in the States because University is run like a contest while in the United Kingdom selection is supposed to have been relatively complete before entry to University.

Turner's analysis of the three facets of what he calls mobility experience pinpoints the kind of problems which it is imperative to test empirically if the process of mobility is to be understood at its various levels. Turner outlines subjects for study :-

(i) Stress or tension of striving under difficult conditions.

(ii) Complication of interpersonal relationships introduced by necessity to abandon lower-level

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1. ibid.
2. ibid.
3. ibid.

friends in favour of the uncertain acceptance into higher level circles.

(iii) Problem of working out personal value system in face of movement between classes having somewhat variant or even contradictory value systems. The problem of a system of values should be well solved when the élite recruit is taken from his parents and peers to be placed in a boarding school, although it may be less well clarified for the grammar school boy who returns each evening to his working class family.

This last point raises the question of the process of transmission of elements of social class culture and assimilation of members of one class into another and the ways in which this is achieved - if it is achieved. These vital questions have hardly yet been touched upon though acknowledged as such by writers such as Floud, Halsey and Martin.[1] It may be seen that repeatedly studies of class and education centre upon differences in the value systems inherent in different class cultures. "From the point of view of the schools in a class society, class is culture; and education is a process of cultural assimilation through the reconstruction of personalities previously conditioned by class or race".[2]

However, one must question whether reconstruction as such is either possible or desirable and how indeed it may take place. Also, one wonders what is the price to the individual of such reconstruction of personality? This to some extent seems to bring us to the realms of psychology - yet the processes are blatantly sociological. The Early Leaving Report

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1. Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit., p. 114.

2. Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit., p. 8.

endorses that "the traditionally middle class schools are evidently failing to assimilate large numbers of the able working class children who win their way into them" [1] - and Himmelweit's chapter on Social Status and Secondary Education since the 1944 Act (Glass, 1954) seems to indicate reasons why :-

> "in the eyes of the teacher the boy with a working class background is not so well integrated into the school. It is difficult to estimate how far such evaluation is the result of genuine differences in behaviour and outlook on the part of the boys or to what extent it reflects differences in the teachers' attitudes to pupils coming from different social backgrounds". [2]

It would appear that personalities are not always so easily reconstructed nor social classes culturally assimilated. And the reasons are investigated in this thesis.

A further pertinent question is how far the children and students themselves perceive differences and react to them in their relationships with one another. Oppenheim failed to discover clique formation along the lines of social class in a socio-metric study of a number of grammar schools - but not many conclusions can be drawn from such an isolated study. [3]

It would seem to be fairly obvious from this brief study that although much has been written about the process of selection and allocation and the cultural factors influencing class differentials there is a notable lack of information about the supposed process of "assimilation" into the middle class student body, which it is assumed working class student undergo. Nor is there any sociological evidence as yet of the effects on the relations of the social classes within the University of expansion in educational

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1. Floud, Halsey and Anderson, Chapter 9.
2. Glass, op. cit., p. 149.
3. Oppenheim, A.N., "Social Status and Clique Formation among Grammar schoolboys", B.J.S., VI, 1955, pp. 288-45.

opportunity, and changes in the social class distribution, if such there be, in secondary and higher education. These are other unanswered questions which the author has tried to pose in her own work, using the evidence of previous writers, on other aspects of education and social class as a 'springboard' for her investigations.

Recent studies of 'student' behaviour and attitudes act as a background to these problems yet do not attempt to answer them directly. Zweig in his study of Oxford and Manchester students[1] (1963) shows that they differ - yet does not attempt to analyse why they differ - for instance in terms of social class of origin. Indeed, because his respondents shied away from implications of social class membership in student life, it appears that Zweig assumed social class to have little direct relevance in student social relations. Marris,[2] too, (1964) whose particular findings about student residence, relations with staff and so on will be discussed in conjunction with findings of the thesis surveys, also seems to come to this conclusion. Indeed, Marris states that the "bonds which forge an élite ..... override conventional class barriers".[3] This statement is challenged by the findings of the thesis.

Much has been written about students since the appearance of the Robbins Report - on almost every facet of their life within the University community[4] - yet surprisingly a systematic investigation of relations of the students as members of social classes <u>within</u> the University has not been attempted. The assumption would appear to have been that there was nothing on that score to investigate. The findings of the survey would seem to show the opposite.

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1. Zweig, <u>op. cit.</u>
2. Marris, <u>op. cit.</u>
3. <u>ibid.</u>, p. 156.
4. See Kendall, M., <u>Research into Higher Education - A Bibliography</u>, R.U.S.P., 1964, University of London.

Indeed, the sense of 'community' imputed by some research into student life needs to be severely challenged along with the idea that the 'attribute' student is a meaningful social category to the students themselves at all times. Certain conditions are necessary for this to be true - and these conditions must be investigated. W. Taylor has discussed the 'University culture' and social change and has drawn attention to the lack of knowledge about important aspects of University life and says that more should be known "of the values and attitudes of student sub-cultures". He urges that we need more systematic analytical investigations of the "interaction of the various groups that make up the University, the social processes that are involved in providing and receiving a higher education and the way in which Universities relate to other institutions within the society and respond to the demands made upon them".[1]

Taylor does not refer at all to the social class groups that make up the University, nor yet to their particular sub-cultures - but it is in fact to these that we must particularly turn our attention now that the days of the student as a leisured academic are clearly gone.[2] If being a student is becoming increasingly regarded as an 'occupation', as Silver's article implies, then it no longer signifies a total and exclusive culture internalised by the University community. The question of how far students can be said to have a particular 'student culture', and how far they merely retain aspects of the culture of their social class of origin is one of the main concerns of the thesis.

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1. Taylor, W., "Higher Education in Britain", Nature, July 31, 1965, Vol. 207, No. 4996. Review of second paper.

2. Silver, Harold, "Salaries for Students?", Universities Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 4, Sept. 1965.

The attempt to see the situation within a process of change is demonstrated in the chapter on expansion of University places and of views of those within each situation towards processes of change. No national conclusions are drawn or would be meaningful in this analysis - which is concerned with the isolation of social factors in group relations. In this case the groups investigated are social classes - in terms of analytical categories they might well have been "colour"classes. In fact, it will be noted that certain literature on colour prejudice and race relations has been used in analysis. This demonstrates that the classes are taken initially as cultural groups - in the sense meant by Little and Westergaard when they say: "The social classes constitute genuine groupings - quasi communities - distinct from each other in their typical life - chances and styles of living".[1]

The word 'distinct' is arguable in this context in terms of what really happens, for as Littlejohn says in Westrigg : "The population is so large and widespread that the possibilities of choosing to associate or not to associate with each other cannot ever be actualised for most individuals in it".[2] Naturally, this has implications for the formulation and transmission of group culture and identity.

The author does not propose at this stage to examine at length her investigations of the nature of social classes, although this will be discussed in relation to survey findings. Littlejohn says, stratification in any population exhibits various facets according to the contexts in which

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1. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.

2. Littlejohn, James, Westrigg : the Sociology of a Cheviot Parish, (Internat. Lib. of Sociol. & Soc. Reconstr.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 77.

and the methods by which it is examined. The author has initially examined the socio-economic classes of students in terms of occupation of parents. That this is only a rough guide and, in a sense, merely one dimension of a multi-dimensional phenomena is realised, and areas of analysis where it breaks down as a useful tool are clearly indicated.

The author admits to the great difficulties facing those who study and attempt to define social class in agreeing with Littlejohn that :

> "A social class is neither a mere category arbitrarily defined by myself on the basis of one or two 'characteristics' such as property ownership, nor is it a group in the strict sense of the term as implying clear-cut boundaries and a constitution laying down a limited set of relationships among its members. A class is rather for its members one of the major horizons of all social experience; an area within which most social experience is defined. Encompassing so much it is rarely conceptualized". [1]

Yet one of the aims of the survey has been to discover some of the limits of the <u>area</u> so defined in terms of social experience, and the situations in which attitude and action is regulated by other areas of social experience. An examination of students' conceptualization of social class, as in Chapter 12, is a necessary introduction to such analysis - and provides a bridge between the abstraction and reality. As T.H. Marshall says : "It is dangerous to start with the assumption that because the word 'class' is commonly used it must express a definable concept". [2]

This may indeed be a dangerous assumption, for one of the most difficult tasks of the thesis, and one which in terms of its wider relevance

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p. 111.

2. Marshall, T.H., <u>Citizenship and Social Class</u>, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. 86-113.

is by no means fully accomplished has been to express 'social class' as a 'definable concept', meaningful both to observer and observed and in a sense not merely an abstraction from reality but an operational concept which may be used as a tool to gain further understanding of the nature of social relations in general.

The findings of research into aspects of education and social class have been discussed which set in context the findings of the present thesis. In comparing them one must, for convenience, take for granted that what is being measured as 'social class' is a relatively constant and consistent phenomenon. However, this need not necessarily be so in 'the real world' and even the single dimension of 'occupational status' may be subject to change over time in different places and in different contexts studied. One of the unforseen results of the survey is concerned with just that. Not only is social class revealed in its various dimensions by the findings - but it is shown to vary in degree of relevance as a factor in social relations with a complex set of conditions in any particular context. This will be seen to be a development of the structure of the empirical evidence itself throughout the thesis - and the development will be traced accordingly.

CHAPTER II

The Three Universities

It would be pleasant to be able to record that the three Universities chosen for the comparative study were selected because they exhibited most clearly the kind of organisation and structure necessary for detailed comparative analysis. In fact this was not so - and ultimately the three decisive factors were cost, convenience and chance. However, in retrospect, the author believes that whatever the processes which determined the choice of these three Universities they did in fact turn out to be excellent examples of the basic differences required, and provided a sound basis for comparison. Moreover, since it is not intended to draw general conclusions about institutions but about structural situations in a sense any contrasting three Universities would equally well have served the purpose. As Robbins points out in fact - all institutions of higher education are different, with different history and structure.[1] One of the implications of the survey findings is that since all institutions are so different they may be expected to experience different effects of expansion of educational opportunity and in different degree.

The first survey was carried out in Edinburgh - quite by chance - since it was the University of the author's first degree. Since one might assume that the findings of the Edinburgh survey would have limited applicability primarily because Edinburgh is a Scottish University and for that/

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[1] 'Higher Education' Report op. cit. Chapter 2, para 14, page 4.

that reason alone in some ways a-typical, it was first thought that any comparative study should embrace English Universities, particularly of the South and Midlands. Before the nature of the research had been clearly formulated, it was thought most profitable to do a large-scale "National" survey - containing a varied selection of collegiate, civic and 'new' Universities. If this had succeeded it is clear that a totally different thesis than this here presented would have emerged - and would have represented a "broadening out" rather than a "narrowing down" of the sociological scrutiny.

It soon became clear that a large scale survey would be unpracticable because of lack of finance, and time in which to carry out such a vast project. The number of Universities to be compared with Edinburgh was narrowed to two. A three-sided comparison seemed more rounded than a merely two-sided one. Indeed had not the third - in Newcastle - been undertaken - the significance of many results in the other two would have gone unnoticed and many explanations would have been misleading.

Findings in the Edinburgh survey had suggested that residential organisation is an important factor in student relationships and since Edinburgh is non-residential a collegiate University clearly seemed to be necessary as a contrasting study. Fortunately, Durham University is within easy travelling distance and is collegiate - so this was chosen. The next most obvious choice was that of Newcastle University - which until two years previous to the survey had been part of Durham University as King's College in/

in Newcastle. In a sense, this fact represented a 'control' in that one could compare if one were more regionally biased than the other in terms of its student population, and why this situation arose. Newcastle, being at once an old and a 'new' University presented an interesting variation, and by virtue of its industrial setting, contrasted sharply with the two other Universities.

The three Universities chosen differ in obvious respects of size, history, institutional structure, residential organisation and urban setting - yet since they are situated within a defined geographical area in the North East of Britain this, to some extent, eliminates the important variable of 'region' or that based on any North/South division. As one in every sixteen persons in Edinburgh is English it would seem that in some ways Edinburgh may well have more in common with the English than the Scottish Universities.[1] As the only Scottish University in the survey it introduces the additional variable of "nationality" and has a student population of both Scottish and English. It was noted in Chapter I that students of the two countries are products of different educational systems and traditions. In order to cope with this additional variable the Scottish and English students have been largely treated as separate samples and in fact provide some interesting comparisons.

It is necessary at this point to compare the three Universities in terms of size, history, structure and residential organisation as an introduction to the survey findings.

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[1] Edinburgh University is also the only Scottish University at present participating in the U.C.C.A.

(a) Size

In 1962 the University of Edinburgh had 7,509 students of whom 6,266 were taking full-time courses. Of the full-time students 4,258 were men and 2,008 were women although the proportion of men to women varied considerably between the different faculties of Arts, Law, Divinity, Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Science, Music, and Science. These students come from many parts of the world and the percentage of overseas students to British students is high compared with other Universities. The students are divided by nationality into the following proportions (1961-1962 figures):

Full Time		Part Time	
Scottish	55%	Scottish	54%
England (and Wales and N. Ireland)	28%	England (and Wales and N. Ireland)	27%
Overseas	17%	Overseas	19%
n. 6,266		n. 1/7,509	

In 1963 the University of Durham had 1,916 full time students and 13 part time, of whom 1,450 were men and 466 women - distributed throughout the Faculties of Arts, Social Studies and Pure Science. Other Faculties had been 'lost' to Newcastle when it became a University in its own right. The proportion of overseas students in Durham is negligible - only approximately 3 per cent.

In 1964 the University of Newcastle had 4,553 full time students of whom 3,384 were men and 1,169 women. These took courses in the Faculties of Arts, Economic and Social Studies, Law, Education, Science, Applied Science, Agriculture, Medicine and Dental Surgery. Of these students only 9 per cent were overseas students - of which 4.3 per cent came from Commonwealth/

Commonwealth countries. All other students were almost exclusively English.

Basic differences in the three Universities emerge as to size, nationality and sex divisions.

(b) History and Institutional Structure

Edinburgh University

"While the fifteenth century was a period of intellectual stagnation in England, in Scotland it saw the dawn of higher education: between 1412 and 1495 three Universities were established. By mid sixteenth century a decay had set into the catholic church - decay in learning among other things, whose effect was felt in the Universities. The Catholic purge which accompanied the reformation resulted in a desire to establish a new University of Protestant foundation. Edinburgh, the youngest of the four Scottish Universities, was founded in 1583 by the Town Council largely as a result of that purge".[1]

When "The Toun's College" first opened its doors to 'students desirous of instruction' the teaching staff consisted of one man, Robert Rollock, a former professor at St. Andrews and there was one class. In 1621 the "Act of Confirmation" ratified the College's privilege of conferring degrees, and granted it the rights, immunities, and privileges enjoyed by the other Scottish Universities; these were renewed in the Treaty of Union and Act of Security in 1707.

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[1] Edinburgh University Student's Handbook 1964-65. 69th edition. An S.R.C. publication. p. 15.

In the early days there were no professors, their place being taken by 'regents' or tutors. Professors in fact did not make an appearance until 1708 at which time the individual faculties were also beginning to appear, first divinity, then law, medicine and the arts. Finally in 1858 the University received a new and autonomous constitution - freeing it from the complete control of the civic authorities. The Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 constituted the University as a body corporate to which all the property belonging to the University at that time was transferred with full powers of administration. In 1893 the academic organisation of the University was arranged into six faculties: Arts, Divinity, Law, Medicine, Music and Science. The Faculty of Social Science began in 1963.

The University has always had close ties with the city and the general awareness of this link is coupled with the fact that the dispersion of University buildings over a wide area brings students into constant everyday contact with city and citizens. The University is expanding rapidly in a numerical and physical sense, and this is something which every student experiences. It is already one of the largest Universities in Britain (over 8,000 students 1964-5).

At the head of the formal structure is the Chancellor, beneath him the Vice-Chancellor and Principal. The Student's Rector is a post filled by a person of national or international repute elected by the students every three years. This post is peculiar to the Scottish Universities and the/

the elections have been surrounded by controversy in recent years. The Rector is chief spokesman to the Senate and Court for the ordinary student and thus theoretically represents a direct link between the student and the governing body. Tasks of Rector in the ordinary running of the University are usually undertaken by a person nominated by him - called the Rector's Assessor. The Secretary is the principal administrator of the University. The main governing body is the University Court which is composed of the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and Rector, certain of the Members of Senate and a number of civic dignitaries. The Court is responsible for buildings and financial matters. The Senatus Academicus is composed of Professors and certain elected members of the non-Professorial staff and is responsible for academic matters within the University and also for the discipline of the student body. ("A power which they wield lightly".)[1]

Other bodies in the University constitution are the 'General Council' of graduates and staff, and the 'Curators of Patronage' who have the patronage of sixteen chairs.

The Students' Representative Council, instituted by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 is one of the oldest in the country being founded in 1884 and has developed quite a large bureaucratic machinery through recent years/

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[1] McDonald, A.H. (President S.R.C. 1962/63) in Students' Diary 1962/63. An S.R.C. publication.

years to deal with its various functions. These include finance; services to students; benevolent services; relations with University authorities; relations with Scottish Union of Students, and international questions.[1] As stated in the Constitution these are as follows:-

Para 2. "The functions of the Council shall be:

(a) to represent the students in matters affecting their interests;

(b) to afford a recognised means of communication between the students and the University authorities;

(c) to promote social life and academic unity among the students;

(d) to provide for students such other services as seem necessary or desirable"[2]

The S.R.C. is elected annually by the students on a Faculty and year basis of seats and is the formal machinery of communication between the Court, Senate and student - particularly by means of the Senatus, S.R.C. Liaison Committee and the office of Rector.

Since most students exhibit great apathy concerning standing and voting in elections, the Students' Representative Council is not a truly representative body and like most informal organisations depends largely for its successful working on a small number of individuals of personality and talent. However, in recent years, with the growth of numbers there has been increasing contesting of seats and a liveliness in elections.

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1 Miller, W. Concerning Student Government (a study of the Students' Representative Council). Unpublished M.A. Dissertation of University of Edinburgh, June 1965. See p. 25.

2 Edinburgh University S.R.C. Constitution and Standing Orders, 1963. Para 2, Ch. I. Laws.

The Faculties have their own sub-committees on the S.R.C. and their own means of communication with Faculty Heads. This kind of Faculty organisation is representative of that running throughout the student body. Since the University unit is so large students tend to identify increasingly with the Faculty, and the proliferation of Faculty scarves as opposed to University scarves (more marked than in either Durham or Newcastle) is merely one indication of a developing process. Much student organisation is run on Faculty lines either consciously or unconsciously. There are over eighty societies, clubs, and associations and these tend to be the centres of student social life. Since there are separate men's and women's Unions with voluntary membership, there are no real centres of student activity in a physical sense. The Unions enrol only a proportion of students as members and the Men's Union (known as the University Union) tends to be dominated by students in the Medical Faculty. Student societies are frequently dominated by members of a certain Faculty and this tends to perpetuate the existing structure. Some non-departmental "interest" societies and sports groups cut across these Faculty ties as do groupings by years, between which there is an element of social distance.

The Medical Faculty is physically separate from the main student body - in the New Quad - and tends to remain a socially separate unit with its own special traditions and organisations. This is the oldest part of the University and accordingly the most well known outside Edinburgh.

Since buildings are separate and 'digs' are scattered, the various student eating places tend to become the geographical bases upon which social groups/

groups are founded. Although from year to year the social group composition of students frequenting the Refectory and Common Room tends gradually to change, in any one year it is possible to locate a group or society by its relations to a clearly defined social 'space'. This is tacitly accepted by all the students.

Many student groups have members in common and one finds various societies with leaders in common. These linking bonds of individuals rather than institutions preserve unity within the student body as a whole. In fact, the personal element of unity in social organisation is very important as group leaders can draw together the student body and lack of them can mean a disintegration of corporate student life. Very rarely is the whole student body all together in one place at one time, exceptions being Rectorial elections and charities week processions. At formal occasions, such as graduation, the student body is so large that at least two ceremonies have to be held. The relation of academic staff (of whom there are some 1,000 or so) to students is not institutionally defined outside the classroom. There is no 'Senior Common Room' and 'Junior Common Room' - although the staff do have their own Club whose facilities are strictly prohibited to students. The jurisdiction of staff over students is not in general thought to extend beyond academic matters, and the residential organisation of the University precludes any real kind of 'supervision'. On the whole the norms of staff/student relations are regulated by the individual, within certain limits, so that any mutual 'avoidance' which exists is a personal phenomenon and is not institutionally prescribed.

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There is little social contact between staff and students, however, as one might expect.

Durham University was founded in 1832 by an Act of Parliament and to some extent modelled on the then only two existing Universities of Oxford and Cambridge - it established colleges with the aim of having as many people in residence as possible. The Act of 1832 made the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral governors of the University and the Bishop Visitor, for the Act was to "enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of the property of their church to the establishment of a University in connexion therewith for the advancement of learning".[1]

The first statutes were made by the Dean and Chapter in 1834 and the University was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1837 under the name of "The Warden, Masters and Scholars of the University of Durham". The University of Durham Act 1908 and the Statutes of 1909 created a new Senate and modified the position and powers of the Dean and Chapter while retaining visitorial powers in the hands of the Bishop; they also created a Council of the Durham Colleges and constituted a Newcastle Division consisting of the College of Medicine and Armstrong College (Technical and Science College).

The first colleges to be set up not unnaturally established Durham as a centre of theological training although admission to the Colleges was not confined to students of theology - and the dominance of the Cathedral is still/

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[1] Royal Commission on the University of Durham Report. Feb. 1935. H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 4815, p. 8.

still felt to this day although present day students try not to emphasise this image. However, the age and tradition of the Cathedral and castle and the nature of their ancient links with the University are seen by students as part of its charm and a unique and attractive feature of Durham. Some of the students of University College do in fact have rooms in the castle (with its Norman keep for the most senior) which was given to the University by the Bishop of Durham in the 1830's and this serves as a constant reminder of the age and tradition of the University.

The University has always been small and in the early days drew its student population largely from the immediate neighbourhood. It was at one time known as the poor man's Oxford and enabled the studious but poor miner's son for example to taste the benefits of higher education in a traditional setting. In 1932-33 there were only 475 students in the Durham division of the Durham Colleges of which 457 lived in college.[1] Of the 333 at the Newcastle College of Medicine and the 822 at the Armstrong College only 60 students were in residence - demonstrating early the difficulties between the two divisions.

About 1935 a crisis in the University's organisation and finances occurred and the "major defects in the Constitution of the University"[2] resulted in the Royal Commission on the University of Durham whose report was published in 1937. As a result the University was given a new Constitution by the Act of Parliament whose main articles established changes in the relationship/

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[1] Figures from Register of Admissions, Registrar's Office.

[2] Royal Commission, op. cit., p. 13.

relationship with the Newcastle division and the government of both. The Commission said that one of the major defects of the Constitution was that the "comparative insignificance of the University, as distinguished from the units of which it is composed, and the limitations on its resources and powers of initiative have tended to concentrate public support, interest and loyalty on the separate units to the disregard of the University as a corporate institution".[1]

The Commission recommended the limiting of the powers of Convocation and the extending of the powers of the Senate, along with the setting up of a whole-time Headship of the Durham Division. The particular complexities which the commission remarked in 1937 exist to some extent in limited form today and it is worth quoting the original document on this:

> "As a constituent unit of a University the Durham Division is unusual in its variety and complexity. It comprises no less than eight separately organised residential colleges, divided so far as their relation to the government of the Division is concerned into three dissimilar groups, it is specially concerned on behalf of the University with the students of two affiliated colleges and is also related to nineteen associated theological colleges; it has separately housed and organised science laboratories; and it has close relations with the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral."[2]

To this day the University retains characteristics of both a collegiate and non-collegiate University - all teaching (with the exception of the two teacher training colleges) being done in the departments and faculties/

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[1] Ibid., Chap. 1, para 22.

[2] Ibid., para 51.

faculties - and organised on faculty lines - while colleges remain the major community division and are centres to which everyone at least in name only must belong.

The main officers of the University (1964) are the Visitor (Bishop of Durham); Chancellor; Vice-Chancellor and Warden; Pre-Vice Chancellor and Sub Warden, and Registrar. They, together with certain appointed "Heads of Houses" - principals and masters of colleges - members appointed by the Senate, non-professorial staff and members of the city and county council, constitute the University Council.

The Senate is composed of the chief officers of the University, the Deans of Faculties, all the Heads of Houses and Professorial staff - along with other members appointed by the Boards of Faculties.

The Heads of Houses wield great power in the organisation. They, to some extent control entry to the University, and supervise the lives of the students within their care in accordance with the belief that they stand in loco parentis;[1] which extends far beyond the limits of academic life. Within each college there is a hierarchy of Principal, resident staff and students, rigidly divided into Senior Common Room and Junior Common Room, High Table and Low Table. Postgraduate students are in statu pupillari and so are definitely members of the Junior Common Room. Everyone is placed into one of these two categories - all status relationships are institutionalised so that norms of behaviour are clear to everyone. This is reflected in/

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[1] Personal Communication from Registrar.

in terms of the rigid social distance between different years in the colleges.

There are eleven colleges - four for female students and seven for male students. All are residential except the non-residential St. Cuthbert's Society. The students' organisations exhibit the same kinds of fragmentation as that of the staff and administration. Each college has a J.C.R. Committee and senior man or woman who controls student organisation within the college and acts as communication between the students and Principal and thus to the Senate. An informal meeting of senior men and women is held regularly by the Registrar for airence of grievances and formulation of policy. The students' representative council elected from the general student body and containing representatives of colleges and organisations, by contrast with the senior men and women, has won the name of being a council of troublemakers - and although theoretically the chief negotiative body of the students is sometimes by-passed by staff and administration who go straight to the J.C.R. Committees and senior men and women. This has not unnaturally caused ill will and has resulted in a diminution of the powers of the S.R.C. and its president.

Since the president is elected straight from the student body - unlike Edinburgh where he and the executive are elected from the Council itself after a hard apprenticeship - there is very little continuity and the Council has the appearance of a familial organisation. The kind of bureaucratisation which marks all the Edinburgh student organisations is entirely/

entirely lacking in Durham, partly because of shortage of personnel. A student likened the difference between Edinburgh and Durham to that between the supermarket and the corner shop.

There is a students' Union which until recently was a debating society only and exclusively male. Since females were admitted just over two years ago, it has extended its range of social activities, but remains radically independent and often anti-S.R.C. Its officers - like those of the Edinburgh Men's Union - are assumed to be a cut above the rest because they dominate the last male stronghold in which still remain shreds of former days when Universities were only for "young gentlemen". Even the excessive drinking is in accordance with this image.

There are a variety of student societies, too, catering for most interests but these sometimes suffer from shortage of people to run them, and there is cross cutting of many other ties. In Durham, much more than in Edinburgh there is duplication of personnel.

The most striking feature of Durham from the students' point of view is that it is so easy to get to know most of the people in the University in a very short time. This is a feature of a small University and a small town and it results in an intimate and very personal atmosphere.

The colleges are the main centres of activity and communal life - despite all other cross cutting ties - and most have their own societies and sports teams - it being more honour to represent one's college in certain circumstances than to represent one's University.

Newcastle/

Newcastle University, as we have seen, was known as the Newcastle Division of the Durham Colleges until the Universities of Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne Act established it as a University in its own right as from 1st August 1963. The College of Medicine, started in 1833, had become associated with the University of Durham in 1852, twenty years before the College of Physical Science - or Armstrong College as it later became known - was founded in 1871. The two colleges remained separate until the Royal Commission recommended that they unite as the Newcastle Division of Durham Colleges, later known as King's College. Although the Armstrong College was the largest of the three units of the University in 1935 - being a multi-faculty college with over 800 full time students - the Medical College retained and still retains pre-eminence and complete autonomy of internal organisation. This extends to the organisation of the student body - for despite the setting up of the King's College S.R.C. independently of the Durham S.R.C. - the Medical Students' Council has maintained its authority, as a duly elected body acting within the jurisdiction of the Medical School and through the Medical Sub-Council of the S.R.C. exerts considerable influence on the whole student body. No other Faculty has this kind of organisation of influence. The Medical Sub-Council consists of "representatives elected by the medical students, including dental students to the N.U.S.R.C. together with any other members who may be elected by the medical and dental students to act with them, and together with the President of the N.U.S.R.C.".[1] Thus it may be seen that the Medical Students' Council bears/

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[1] University of Newcastle S.R.C. Articles of Constitution and Bye-laws. 1st edition. 1963. Ch. V., para 1.

bears a rather special relationship to the S.R.C. As in Edinburgh the President of the S.R.C. is very often a medical student, and there is great group solidarity of "medics" at meetings so that the medical nominees may always be assured of a good block vote.

The Medical Students' Council was instituted in 1895 and is the representative body of medical and dental students in the University.

> "Its objects are the provision and maintenance of means of social and academic intercourse and the management and protection of recognised means of negotiation between students and authorities of the University, the Medical School and associated Hospitals, Institutions and Societies.
>
> "The Council consistsof annually elected members from the medical and dental student body, together with the representatives from the various sub-committees of Council, namely, Medical Society, Dental Society, B.M.S.A., Medical Gazette and the Medical Athletic Clubs Committee."[1]

The Newcastle and Durham divisions have always been separate to some extent and according to some students the only time that Newcastle and Durham students met was at Durham regattas and Congregation (graduation). Thus the institution of King's College as a University in its own right was in many ways only acknowledging a division which was already there.

The Principal Officers of the University are the Visitor (the Lord Chancellor); the Chancellor; Vice-Chancellor; Pre-Vice Chancellor, Dean of Medicine and Registrar. The Chancellor is the chairman of the University Court. The Court has 50 members drawn in roughly equal numbers from inside and/

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[1] University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Students' Handbook, 1964-65, p. 17.

and outside the University, and includes members of local authorities; the Council, again equally composed of University and lay members, numbers about 25 and meets more frequently than the Court. These two bodies have power to take decisions about the property and finance of the University and "link the University with the life of its region".[1]

All established teachers in the University are members of the Academic Board, which meets at least twice a year - but the supreme academic authority within the University is the Senate, which is a relatively small body of 40 members. This body is advised by the Boards of the Faculties.

The Students' Representative Council is elected on a Faculty and year basis from the student body and the executive committee are elected yearly by the Council. The S.R.C. is responsible for all those student affairs not directly connected with the Union Society. The Council itself meets once a month during term when it hears reports from all the sub-committees and holds discussion on many burning topics. Unlike any other Council, however, anyone may attend and speak. In Edinburgh non-members must have Council's permission to speak.

Theoretically, the S.R.C. represents the chief negotiating body to the Senate and the means of communication with the student. In practice this relationship is greatly complicated by the existence of a strong committee governing the Union Society to which technically everyone belongs and which controls <u>in toto</u> the magnificent Union building with its variety of/

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[1] University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, <u>General Information</u>, 1963/64, p. 16.

of social amenities. The University has built and controls the debating hall and the student controlled rooms form a flying wing - at once like the organisation separate and conjoined. Thus in may respects the University authorities and the Union officers form an avenue of communication and policy formation into which the S.R.C. need not or cannot intrude. The issue is made more complex - and from the student point of view explosive - by the fact that the S.R.C. officers are housed in half a corridor in the Union building. This the S.R.C. rents from the Union Society. The S.R.C. also runs social activities only by courtesy of the Union.

"The Union Society is the central hub of student life in the University" claims the Student Handbook[1] but in fact only a part of the student body uses the Union centre even though membership subscription is normally included in the University fees.

The Union President (1964-5), a medical student, compared the S.R.C. and Union to the House of Commons and the T.U.C., and one can see where the power conflict analogy is appropriate.

Like the Unions of Durham and Edinburgh is has its own independent management committee and originated in a purely male organisation - in this case an offshoot of the Durham University Union Society. The separate Men's and Women's Union were amalgamated in 1948.

There are nearly 80 student societies and these have centralised publicity/

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[1] University of Newcastle Students' Handbook, op. cit., p. 23.

publicity through the Union and many hold their meetings on the premises. This kind of centralisation in terms of a physical base is entirely lacking in Edinburgh and Durham. Yet the Union is used mainly during the day since many students live at home and leave the campus at 5 p.m. every evening.

The main divisions of the University fall mainly along Faculty and Departmental lines and since they are physically disparate - as in Edinburgh - spatial organisation emphasises organisational divisions.

(c) Residence and Spatial Organisation of Buildings

The residential and spatial set up of the Universities needs closer examination if we are to understand factors underlying student groups. As has already been mentioned, Edinburgh and Newcastle Universities are both non-residential - with only a small proportion of students living in halls of residence, and a substantial number of students living at home. If we put the figures for Edinburgh and Newcastle together on this we have some idea of comparison. The Edinburgh figures however are for 1961-62; the Newcastle 1963-64:

	Edinburgh	Newcastle
	%	%
Home	32	23
Lodgings	54	51
Halls	14	26
Total	100	100

There is nearly twice as high a proportion of students living in Halls/

Halls in Newcastle University than in Edinburgh University. However, in Newcastle 31 per cent of the students live within thirty miles of Newcastle - so that there are as many local students at the University although they are not living at home.

Durham University is Collegiate with the express intention of allowing as high a proportion of students to "live in" as possible. Figures on University residence however show that in fact a considerable proportion of students are compelled by lack of places to live out even though they are "attached" to a College.

	Durham
	%
Home	2
Lodgings	27
Colleges or Halls	71
Total	100

In Durham only approximately 16 per cent are 'local' students and live within a thirty mile radius of the city - half as many as in Newcastle, although the two Universities are only about 20 miles apart and in a sense are drawing upon the same region.

The spatial relationship of the Faculty buildings[1] to one another are another interesting feature for comparison. In Edinburgh University the various departments are scattered - but there are marked concentrations which/

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[1] Please refer to maps in Appendix, Thesis Volume II.

which underly the Sciences/Arts division which tends to split the University. While the Arts departments used to be concentrated in and around the Old Quad near the city centre, since 1921 Science students have been situated in their own separate campus with own individual facilities out at King's Buildings on the south side of the city. While the Medical Quad and the Divinity College are at least within easy walking distance in a visibly 'student' quarter of the city the Science Buildings are far enough away to necessitate use of public transport, therefore increasing the ecological and psychological distance.

In the programme of expansion which the University is undergoing in a 25 year plan provisions have been made which will attempt to centralise the Arts, Social Sciences and Library facilities in the George Square area near the present concentration and will try to bring at least some of the scientists into the same area in use of the First Year Science Block. In time, the University, with the co-operation of the Town Council, will re-develop a 125 acre site involving not only the University buildings but also commercial and residential areas. Thus it should be possible to walk from one side of the site to the other and so improve immediate face to face contacts of students, which at the moment are regulated by spatial distance.

In Newcastle University there is a much greater concentration of University buildings near the city centre so that it is already possible to see the shape of a 'campus' emerging. The older parts of the University including Fine Art, Medical School and Administrative buildings, are being skilfully/

skilfully merged with the new Science blocks and extension to the Union building which have sprung up since King's College became a University. Here again a vast programme of expansion is going on and as in Edinburgh, departments are being brought in and halls of residence remain towards the periphery. There is no conscious Arts/Science split - although Science is very much in evidence everywhere in terms of Faculty buildings and student numbers. It is the departments such as Town Planning and Agriculture which as yet remain in their converted accommodation somewhat spatially separate that feel the disadvantages of ecological distance. Yet the distances to be covered seem in no way as great as those in Edinburgh.

Even in Durham the process of centralisation is just beginning with the planned expansion in student numbers for whom in this case places have to be built if the collegiate system is to remain unchanged.

Until recently there was a split between the colleges and departments based in "the Baileys" or on the Peninsula, as that bend in the river is called, and on the other side of the river the new Science laboratories and newer colleges further up the hill. The historical parts of the University in keeping with the Castle and Cathedral with which they used to be so closely linked are all centred on the Baileys, and Palace Green. Besides the colleges of University, Hatfield, St. Anne's (now moved to the south side of the city), St. Chad's, St. Cuthbert's Society and St. John's various Arts departments and the Administration building are found in this area. The Union Society is very central on Palace Green and there the S.R.C./

S.R.C. also holds its meetings. The Science laboratories are new and impressive and quite separate in Durham terms - although all within walking distance - and the Arts/Science split is thus preserved. With expansion however will come a shifting of the University centre from Palace Green as due to lack of space new colleges are built in the South Road area and the student population moves from the peninsula.

Yet as the centre moves from P.G. as it is popularly called, it is uncertain as to where it will move or if indeed there will be a physical centre at all. All that may be emphasised is that where students live and work and spend their leisure time are quite separate centres, of which the College itself forms only a minor part. Those concerned with planning expansion are extremely concerned about the lines it should take at this particular time.

In Durham all teaching is done in Departments - although there are resident 'moral tutors' in college who are concerned with discipline, problems and the issues of "exeats". As in both Newcastle and Edinburgh the tutorial classes are accepted as a most effective way of teaching, but numbers are often too large for them to be frequent or effective.

(d) The urban setting of the three Universities supplies in each case a rather different environment in which students live and work. The totemic[1] aspects/

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[1] See Durkheim, E. The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Fifth impression, 1964. For example discussion pp. 113-127.

aspects of this need further investigation, for as we shall see these aspects greatly influence the students' perception of situations and their behaviour in response. This will be discussed later in the thesis.

Edinburgh, which is so closely linked to the city is also linked to its history, tradition and Castle - with all that this implies. And being a capital city and the home of high ranking professional people it has an air of staid and genteel middle-classness. Durham, too, dominated by the river Cathedral and Castle, has the air of age-old tradition which people associate rightly or wrongly with sound merit - so that one forgets the mining village and blackened back-to-back houses on its outskirts which place it firmly in the North East. Durham is considered small and picturesque and has a population of 25,000. Edinburgh has half a million inhabitants of whom it is estimated every one in sixteen is English. Newcastle also has nearly half a million inhabitants and is a lively Northern industrial town with all the signs which docks and smoke and industry bring to a city. The "coaly Tyne" presents a rather different picture from the meandering River Wear in Durham. That these are evaluative and superficial assessments cannot be denied, but they are built up not merely by the author's impressions but from many of the students who live there.

These, then, are the main basic points of comparison in terms of size, history, structure, residential and spatial set up and urban setting - and they are points which must be noted in order to set the scene for findings about the social class composition of each student body and its influence on student groups.

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To sum up, then, we have a large sized, medium and small University. Two of these (Edinburgh and Newcastle) are non-residential; one is collegiate. Two are historic Universities set in historic towns (Durham and Edinburgh). The oldest part of Edinburgh and Newcastle is their Medical School. Both of these are set in large towns commanding a wide hinterland of activity while Durham is set in a small almost rural town. All are undergoing a period of vast expansion. A broad generalisation would be to say that at first glance Edinburgh appears to have more in common with both Durham and Newcastle than they seem to have with each other.

Although with regard to such variables as size, setting and residential set-up it is impossible in the 'real world' to isolate completely each new variable in the University situation in the sense of a "clinically standardised" test, the three Universities studied are at once alike enough and dissimilar enough to provide a sound basis for comparative analysis. In addition, since it is not clear which feature to take as constant in the analysis it is better to leave the experimental situation unstructured.

CHAPTER III

The Research Method

The survey was carried out in each of the three Universities by means of postal questionnaires and intensive follow up interview. This method was supplemented by long periods of participant observation preparatory to the collection of statistical data. Since the first survey in Edinburgh was carried out in the University of the researcher's first degree the student organisation was already very familiar. However, in the case of the Universities of Durham and Newcastle two terms were spent by the researcher in each place, living with the students as a student and participating in student activities.

Participant observation was invaluable in the interpretation and understanding of data and provided many unexpected insights which might never have been gained by use of statistical methods only. What people said they did in questionnaires, or indeed thought they did often proved to be different from what they actually did. Participant observation also helped to illumine the definition of certain social situations. For example, students in Durham may react to members of another college in terms of the social class image they have of that college. This may not correspond to statistical reality and would not be revealed by statistical analysis alone. For these reasons participant observation was not regarded as a means of discovering interesting sidelights but rather as an integral part of the survey methods.

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The survey is thus at once quantitative and qualitative and neither kind of data would be meaningful without the other.

Before the Edinburgh research was begun in September 1962, official permission of the Secretary to the University was granted for the survey to be undertaken among the students, and matriculation files were made available by him for the taking of a random sample. Without official sponsorship it is unlikely whether the surveys could have ever taken place - requiring as they did consultation of confidential records.

In both Universities of Durham and Newcastle heads of departments corresponding to Social Anthropology in Edinburgh provided working space for the researcher and acted as physical and psychological 'bases' in the University. The feeling of identity and confidence which this engendered was invaluable for the progress of research. The departments also stood as a point of reference for students and staff in each situation who needed somewhere to "place" the researcher.

The survey in Edinburgh was conducted between September 1962 and February 1963; that in Durham between January and June 1964; that in Newcastle between October 1964 and March 1965. These represent periods of actual fieldwork and do not include subsequent processing of data.

Although qualitative and quantitative methods in the three surveys were undertaken concurrently, in order to avoid confusion of detail, it would be helpful to consider methods used under the two headings/

headings - whilst discussing concomitantly each of the three surveys.

1. Quantitative Methods

(a) Planning the questionnaire

It is to be remembered that, as was stated in the 'Preface', when the researcher began the survey in Edinburgh University, she was still an undergraduate. She was therefore in many ways ignorant both of research techniques and of their application - and thus the unavoidable inadequacies of the survey, which thus resulted, were such that they could only be overcome by research experience. It is clear that by the third survey better and clearer responses were obtained and a much higher response rate - but exactly how much was due to improved technique, how much to the researcher's increase in status (from undergraduate; post-graduate; to junior member of staff); and how much to the special circumstances of the research situation, would be impossible at this stage to ascertain. However, these changing factors must be borne in mind in consideration of formulation of the questionnaires and of their subsequent use.

In the formulation of the original questionnaire[1] the researcher was more interested in finding the answer to a number of separate questions than in any overall survey of the kind later contemplated. Questions raised by Jackson and Marsden,[2] and Nisbet,[3] prompted the questions on students'/

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[1] Please see Appendix, Volume II of thesis.

[2] Jackson and Marsden, op. cit.

[3] Nisbet, op. cit.

students' siblings. The researcher was interested in the relation of filial and parental educational level and the proportion of first generation University students prompted by work such as that done by Floud, Halsey and Martin.[1] Questions on participation in student affairs and on class consciousness in the student body were formulated purely for personal interest - as a result of personal observation. At that time the author had not read the work of Doris Thoday or Alice Eden and the books by Zweig and Marris had not yet been written. The report of the Robbins Committee[2] also had not yet been published. The social class composition of students was at that time of primary interest in any discussion of the social effects on the student body of the 1944 Act - still undetermined.

This kind of speculation gave added significance to the question of students' rating of parents' social class and their ideas on their own mobility.

These are the main topics first covered in the Edinburgh questionnaire and in the words of the M.A. Dissertation, "my aim was to gain as much information as possible on as many aspects of the subject as possible. Rather than follow up one hypothesis I was intent on building up a reasonably comprehensive picture of the influence of social class in the student body from the viewpoint of both the objective observer and the/

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[1] Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit.

[2] Higher Education Report, op. cit.

the students involved".[1] The same topics were compared in each of the three Universities despite minor changes in questionnaire or any shift in emphasis.

This kind of broad approach to the subject was initially in the nature of a pilot survey for subsequent research and helped to show what to look for and what was significant in the two following surveys. The whole three year programme of research has essentially been a continually developing process which is still going on, and hypotheses have been taken up and discarded all the way along the line - so that it is difficult to remember the first point of reference. The researcher is only now beginning to be aware that this is how all research is carried on - but it has been exciting finding out.

The basic continuity of the research lies in the fact that the same questions are asked in each survey - some identically worded for direct comparison - so that there are some statistical facts on each University which are perfectly comparable. This forms the essential 'backbone' of the thesis. Minor variations occur on each questionnaire[2] for a variety of reasons. Firstly because there are unique features in each University which warrant additional investigation - such as the 'prestige ranking' of Durham colleges. These features do not directly compare/

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[1] Abbott, J. Social Class Composition and Influence in the Student Body of the University of Edinburgh. Unpublished M.A. Dissertation of University of Edinburgh, 1963. p. 19.

[2] Appendix, Thesis Volume II.

compare with information from the other surveys but provide a more meaningful analysis of the University studied, which helps to illuminate certain internal problems of comparison. Thus the whole social system of the University is studied rather than a selection of abstracted features which compare directly with those in other Universities. Not to have varied the questionnaire and areas of student life studied in each University would have negated the need for the kind of inter-University comparison envisaged by the researcher.

Another reason for changes in the questionnaire was that certain questions proved to be ambiguous and so had to be reworded, or they did not yield any fruitful information and were thus left out in the next questionnaire. 'Pruning' was necessary not only for the sake of efficiency and clarity, but also because the progressive lengthening of the questionnaires suggested a possible problem of increased non-response.

Lastly, as has been explained, findings in each survey suggested areas of interest for further study in the next survey. For instance, in interview in Edinburgh, first generation University students talked of their problems. Significant qualitative evidence emerged which needed to be tested statistically. Questions about the problems of first generation University students were thereafter included on the questionnaires so that they could be quantified. This applies also to motives for coming to University, attitudes to work and to place of residence.

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The interviews and participant observation had much influence on the reshaping of questionnaires, and on the shifting of influence in the processing of data which they yielded. Through the analysis of qualitative data a continuous reappraisal of the statistical material was made which sometimes found expression in the quantitative method. Nevertheless, because it was necessary to make a structured statistical comparison, there is much basic repetition throughout the surveys and much of the 'narrowing down' of focus which went on developed within this rather strictly prescribed framework. Any startling changes in the collection of quantitative data would have led to a total redefinition of the research problem and made meaningless the attempt at structural comparison. So the approach to and interpretation of facts developed within the confines of the research framework.

As it happened this method was particularly necessary in the light of the fact that right until the last moment it was never entirely clear what factors would emerge as most significant. The development of the questionnaires is rather representative of the development of the research as a whole, and the researcher feels that rather like Topsy, "it just growed" with a life of its own.

The questions on the Edinburgh questionnaire were basically ballot-type - and due to numbers involved and the difficulties of processing data they have remained so in the succeeding two - with slight modifications of ambiguous or unsuitable alternatives. Unfortunately, one/

one only finds out ambiguity by trial and error - so that some answers have had to be scrapped rather than bias the survey.

In both Edinburgh and Durham surveys basic data on course, year of study, University and Home residence and so on was available in the files. This allowed for the shortening of the questionnaire and these questions were only included in order to test the veracity of replies. However, it did mean that a code number had to be written on the form, and although naturally the names were only known to the researcher and afterwards destroyed, it to some extent destroyed its claim to be "anonymous and confidential" and no doubt raised doubts among the students. The effect on the response rate cannot however be measured. In Newcastle the researcher was not allowed to see the confidential files - only addresses - so that the forms were truly anonymous. Whether it was this which resulted in the extremely high response rate - 81 per cent - or whether one must attribute it to the fact that the envelopes were franked in the Registrar's Office, again cannot be ascertained.

In Edinburgh the occupation of students' father is not known to the authorities (except in the Medical School) and does not appear on the entrance form. In Durham and Newcastle this is a usual part of the file of every student.

The different effects of the three covering letters must also be reckoned with - since they represent a different approach to the student.[1] In the Edinburgh survey, "I felt that being an undergraduate was/

[1] Ibid.

was a definite drawback here, but the fact that the project was officially approved would tend to offset this".[1] The latter changes in the researcher's status have been earlier remarked upon.

It will be seen that the Edinburgh covering letter is anonymous. The reason for this seemed very pertinent at the time. The researcher was fairly well known in student circles, having participated actively in the Students' Representative Council, Dramatic Society and other organisations, and feared that if her identity became known it might bias replies or influence the response rate.

The wording of the Newcastle covering letter is changed completely, and there is perhaps an increasing note of authority in its wording. The change of format and content is so radical that one could not estimate the differing degrees of response elicited by the different letters. Therefore for this reason, along with all the others mentioned, the researcher does not propose to draw any conclusions from the different levels of response.

Since basically, as has been pointed out, the central theme of the enquiries and the factor with which all findings is correlated is the social class composition of the student body, the most difficult questions to formulate and those most painstakingly worked out were those on the social class of students and their parents.

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[1] Abbott, op. cit., p. 13.

The first point to decide was which social class categories to use in this survey. The researcher eventually carried out a small informal survey to find out which system of ranking is used in everyday student circles. This seemed appropriate since one of the aims of the survey was to look at social class as the student sees it. The Registrar General's occupational classification of five classes was unsuitable, as students do not normally think in these terms, and do not usually identify with a numbered social class. The four social classes thus revealed were Upper Class, Upper Middle Class, Lower Middle Class and Working Class - based mainly on an occupational model. These four social class categories are the ones subsequently provided for students' replies to the question asking them to rate their parents social class. The omission of a "middle middle class" was intentional for not only does it not feature very often in student discussion of social class, but also the existing four categories compelled respondents to make a genuine choice rather than take the easy way out and gravitate towards the middle of the scale. Of course one must not rule out the possibility that this made the respondents make a choice which they would not otherwise have made.

Since it was necessary to make a direct comparison of the students' social class ranking of their parents with social class ranking by objective indices (this being the social class composition) the same social class categories were used in each case. Thus the researcher had to devise a method of allotting a student to his social class of origin on the basis of questionnaire material. It was decided to use basically

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an index based on occupation of father and guided by the Registrar General's classification of occupations. However in 'borderline' cases in turn both father's education and mother's education and all other pertinent material obtainable from the form were to be taken into consideration. Thus, in a sense, the process of determining a students' social class of origin was in the nature of a multi-stage index primarily occupational.

In sections where the two rank orders have been compared the social class of origin of students as assessed by the student himself is termed the Professed social class, that determined by indices is termed the Assigned social class.

The assigned social classes represent as follows:-

(1) Upper Class - Based not on occupational status but on "titles of privilege" but seen to be a distinct category in the minds of students.

(2) Upper Middle Class - Higher professional, managerial and landowner farmers.

(3) Lower Middle Class - Lower professional, small entrepreneurs, white collar workers, small farmers and supervisory grades of manual (not foremen).

(4) Working Class - Manual workers of all kinds, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

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These represent primarily the one dimension of occupational status, which, as we shall see, implies and may be used to reveal some other dimensions of social class.

(b) Planning the sample

It was imperative to draw as wide and as representative a sample of all full time students as possible if any conclusions were to be drawn from the survey. However, initially hampered in the Edinburgh survey by lack of research experience, time and finance the task seemed almost impossible for one person to carry out and of necessity the 'coat was cut to the cloth'. The question was not entirely what would be statistically significant, but also what would be humanly possible working at full stretch. This kind of consideration had to be borne in mind in all three surveys since the original burdens of lack of facilities and money - mainly the latter - continued to hamper the researcher at every stage.

The researcher never aimed to produce a purely statistical analysis - and, moreover, is not qualified to do so - but has rather seen her task as one of utilising statistical evidence to serve a certain research purpose. For the aim of the research has been to study certain social phenomena in detail and in depth. Statistics have been used to show the extent of features of attitude and behaviour - they cannot in themselves show what those features are, or what they mean in terms of the wider social structure. It is in this province of social research that qualitative methods are invaluable. Therefore the statistics are by no means of overriding importance in the research, although there are so many of them, and must always be considered in conjunction with all

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other aspects of empirical evidence. Neither is the purely qualitative material meaningful in isolation from the attempt to measure what it shows. The statistics are regarded as evidence of certain social phenomena, they are not in themselves those phenomena. It is hoped that it will be possible at some future time to put the information into a computer for more sophisticated statistical analysis. In the meantime, it is hoped that the use of statistical results will be judged according to the purpose for which they were intended.

The sampling frame in each University is the full-time student population of the current year at the time of investigation - as found in the University files of registered students. As has already been mentioned, in Chapter II, the full time student population of Edinburgh University in 1962-3 was 6,266; of Durham in 1963-4 it was 1916; and the full time student population in Newcastle in 1964-65 was 4,553.

These figures include all nationalities. The researcher decided to take a sample of all students whatever their nationality as being representative of the student body, and did not restrict the survey to British students. There were various reasons for this, the main one being that of avoiding any kind of bias at the outset which would be in turn reflected in sex, Faculty and residence distributions and so on.

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The researcher explained this particular issue in the M.A. Dissertation on the Edinburgh survey - to which this question is most relevant in view of the proportion of overseas students.

"I made no distinction between the British and overseas students in the phrasing of my questions. I did this purposefully as I wanted to have some kind of cross cultural comparison. I realise that this is a dangerous step to take when one is comparing two cultures, but when one is comparing many vastly differing cultures as one does under the heading 'overseas' it may seem at first sight truly foolhardy. I also omitted any mention of "colour class" and did not attempt to divide the overseas students into 'racial' groups, despite the diversity of these groups.

"I have not been trying in any way to draw hard and fast conclusions from the results of my survey so I felt justified in trying to "see what would happen" if I followed the course I have outlined above, abstracting the factor of colour from the situation and subjecting each case equally to the criteria of social class".[1]

The overseas students are treated as a separate sample of the Edinburgh respondents - they form too small a group to be treated separately in the two other Universities.

The size of the sample taken, as has been already shown was chosen as a result of several factors - including what would be representative/

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[1] Ibid, p. 26.

representative and what would be physically manageable. In the Edinburgh survey the researcher ambitiously and optimistically decided to send out questionnaires to 20 per cent of the full time students, or 1,288. Fortuitously, as it now appears the researcher was compelled to stop sending out questionnaires after the 710th, after a report on the survey had appeared in a well known daily newspaper. To continue would have meant running the risk of bias in the response, especially as the accounts were very highly coloured and were afterwards discovered to have been based upon the complaints of one student. The 710 questionnaires sent out represent a sample of 11 per cent.

In Durham the researcher was again limited by physical factors - but due to the size of the University was able to send out questionnaires to 485 students - a 25 per cent sample.

In Newcastle the researcher was assisted in addressing envelopes by the secretary of the Warden of Lodgings Office, and this, plus a University grant towards cost of questionnaires, and the use of the Registrar's franking machine, meant that in all 800 questionnaires were sent out - an 18 per cent sample.

Selection of sample was in each case a rather long and laborious task. Rather than run the hazards of taking a stratified sample, in order to gain adequate representation of sex, faculty, residence and age groups to name but a few, and thereafter of undertaking the complex and highly skilled task of 'weighting' these, the researcher/

researcher decided to avoid the many obvious pitfalls for which she was ill prepared - and took a simple random sample. It was hoped that were the sample large enough and random enough the basic distributions of the student body would naturally emerge. This did in fact happen - as will later be shown.

In the Edinburgh survey access was granted to the Matriculation lists in which names are in fact in random order as people matriculated. Therefore since the original plan was to take a 20 per cent sample every fifth name on the list was selected after starting at an odd number under ten. Questionnaires were distributed in batches at the same time as names were being extracted from the files. Thus when the process was so abruptly brought to an end there was doubt as to whether the sample would be biased in favour of early matriculaters - who might represent a special section of the student body. This fear was put at rest by the discovery that two books and sometimes three were used concurrently at matriculation, the second one beginning at 2,000. The sample taken therefore represented a cross section of the whole student body, matriculating early and late.

The task was rather more complex in Durham in that the only place in which there is a comprehensive list of full time students is the published "residence lists" in which students names are placed alphabetically under the headings of colleges. In order to gain a random sample the researcher had to number all the names, and then select the required number by means of a list of statistical random numbers. In terms of tests of representativeness this again seemed to work rather well.

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The Registrar of Newcastle University declined to give access to student records so the sample was gained by means of statistical random numbers from the published "alphabetical" lists of all the students in the University. Since this included part time students also the task involved was beset with problems. These did not diminish when the time came to extract addresses from the files of the Warden of Lodgings - which were not confidential. These files are kept up to date only with the co-operation of the students themselves who are required to inform the Warden of changes of address. Despite a very efficient system, therefore, certain students could not be traced or had out of date addresses - and substitute names had to be found. Again, despite the rather hit or miss methods the system worked well.

(c) Responses obtained and representativeness of the sample

322 completed questionnaires were received from the Edinburgh sample - representing a 46 per cent response, or 48 per cent if one includes incompletely filled in questionnaires and letters only. This represents 5 per cent of the student body.

This is a low response rate - the reasons for which have already been partially discussed. The researcher's lack of experience in survey design may have something to do with it, as may lack of finance which prevented the enclosure of a stamped addressed envelope or the sending out of any follow-up questionnaires. The questionnaires were also sent out at a bad time from the students' point of view - at the time of the Christmas Term exams.

Fears/

Fears that this low response might prejudice the representativeness of the sample, and so invalidate the results, were allayed after statistical tests were made comparing certain distributions of the sample with known distributions of the total student population. The results of these tests showed that, while not accurate in all respects, the survey sample may be taken as being reasonably representative of the student body as a whole. For example, faculty and University residence distribution are accurate, and unbiased. There is a bias in the sex distribution towards the female students which is significant at the 5 per cent but not at the 1 per cent level; and the nationality distribution is biased in the under-representation of overseas students. On this last point, however, it seems unlikely that this bias will have prejudiced the conclusions since the survey was mainly concerned with British students, and in the analysis of results Scottish, English and overseas have been treated as separate samples.

In the Durham survey 352 questionnaires were returned completed - representing 72 per cent overall, although the rate varied from college to college. This high rate of response was partly due to the help of the Senior men and women of the colleges who organised collecting points in the colleges and personally supervised the return of questionnaires collected.

The 352 questionnaires returned represent fairly accurately the distributions of the student body in terms of residence, faculty and college/

college - although again there is a slight tendency to over-representation of female students, though less marked than in Edinburgh. Considering the added complexities introduced by College divisions, the sample is surprisingly unbiased.

A very high response rate indeed was obtained in Newcastle. Six hundred and twenty-nine questionnaires were returned completed out of eight hundred, and if one discounts twenty questionnaires which never reached their destination and were returned 'unknown', then the response rate stands at 83 per cent.[1] This may have resulted from a combination of factors including a more official looking envelope and questionnaire, enclosed stamped addressed envelopes and complete anonymity of the completed form. This sample is more nearly representative of the total student population, as may be expected.

A breakdown of the composition of respondents in terms of basic data of sex, year, nationality and residence is given in tables in Appendix.[2]

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[1] Moser, C.A. Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London: Heinemann, 1958. See p. 179. "One of the highest response rates quoted in the survey literature (was) 81 per cent."

[2] Appendix, Thesis Volume II.

(d) Processing of data

The researcher devised her own coding and designed her own card layout and learnt a great deal by trial and error. The sorted material was tabulated entirely by the researcher and in the case of the Edinburgh data all percentages were worked out by hand. However, this was found to be such a laborious and soul destroying task that results of the two later surveys were put into percentages by a member of the staff of the Social Sciences Research Centre - working on a tabulating machine.

All statistical tests of significance have been carried out by the researcher herself with the aid of many reference books including Moser,[1] Moroney,[2] Ilersic[3] and others.[4] The researcher is thus responsible for all inadequacies of method or errors in results, though she trusts they are slight.

2. Quantitative Methods

The main methods used were participant observation; informal and formal interviews; the keeping of a daily fieldwork diary; and study of all current documentation of the student body, including student newspapers/

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[1] Moser, op. cit.

[2] Moroney, M.U. Facts from Figures. London: Penguin Books, 1962.

[3] Ilersic, A.R. Statistics. London: H.F.L. (Publishers) Ltd. 1959.

[4] Please see Bibliography.

newspapers, handbooks, and minutes of meetings.[1] Since each contributed largely to the interpretation of facts obtained by statistical methods it is necessary to outline these methods here in greater detail.

As has already been mentioned the researcher had spent three very active years as an undergraduate at Edinburgh University before undertaking the survey and therefore further periods of fieldwork were not necessary. The author also had the advantage of being a student during the conduct of the survey and thus of "seeing things from the inside", while obtaining statistical evidence that would create an overall picture not limited by one vantage point. The author was determined to attempt to obtain the same kind of insights into the student body in Durham and Newcastle as she had in Edinburgh, and therefore to undertake the comparative surveys immediately while still in close touch with students and their opinions. The best way to do this was to live the life of a student in each University and if possible to remain undetected as an outsider.

There have been arguments, particularly in the U.S.A., as to whether participant observation is ever really possible in that while one may be accepted into a group if there is any suspicion of one's real role, the group will be affected in some way by the knowledge of being observed. Thus what one observes is a group under very special circumstances and affected by the introduction of a new element - the observer. One case of/

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[1] For examples please see Appendix, Thesis Volume II.

of the effects of the observer may be seen in the 'clinical conditions' of the Bank Wiring Observation Room described by Roethlisberger and Dickson.[1] In a sense this was an 'unreal' work situation; by contrast William Foote Whyte in his study of the Norton Street Gang[2] was highly successful in studying street corner society "from the inside" and becoming totally accepted.

Homans says of his methods that "Whyte studied Cornerville by becoming part of it. He learned to speak Italian; he spent the better part of three years living in the district; he hung out with the Nortons on their corner, won the confidence of the leader and the rest of the gang, and became one of the gang in its games, its political campaigns and other activities. Moreover, Whyte explained at least to the leader of the group what his purpose was in coming to Cornerville - he was making a sociological study. In fact, he enlisted the leader's help in the work".[3]

Whyte's is a classic example of the success of participant observation in a study which in a sense could not have been done any other way. Although the author hoped to use the same methods her research problems were somewhat different. Firstly, she was not studying the interaction of a small group, but the workings of a sizeable community in which over-identification with one small section of it could bias the findings/

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1 Roethlisberger, F.J. and Dickson, W.J. Management and the Worker. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. 1939.

2 Whyte, William Foote. Street Corner Society. Chicago: University Press. 1943.

3 Homans, George C. Human Groups. (Internat. Lib. of Sociol. and Soc. Reconstr.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1951. p. 157.

findings. It was thought that statistical analysis would overcome this problem and put in perspective all personal observations - showing how, why and where the researcher's observations fitted in to the wider social context. This is crucial to the resulting analysis.

Another problem of the study was the length of time at the author's disposal - everything had to be done quickly and the net of social contacts spread as widely as possible in the time available. As will be shown, the amount of integration achieved in Durham and Newcastle differed greatly in the same length of time - and the factors involved give some indication of the special social features of each community. This in itself was helpful in interpretation of data. Since the student body is unique as a community by virtue of its quick turnover of personnel, a lengthier study would have served no better purpose.

For comparative purposes, we shall consider the Durham and Newcastle studies in chronological order and measure the comparative success of participant observation in each place.

The researcher had arranged the survey at Durham 'from the top' through the Registrar and had received every offer of support, and pledge of secrecy. She was put in touch with the Principal of St. Mary's College, who suggested that for the period of her stay the researcher should become "attached" to St. Mary's College in the normal way/

way of a registered postgraduate student. She would be treated as any member of the Junior Common Room throughout her stay. This would mean, of course, limited contact with the staff - no help unless called for; no special "sponsorship"; dining at 'low table'; and, due to shortage of places, no room in college. The complete segregation from staff which this involved turned out to have been very necessary - since such is the hierarchical organisation of Durham that if one were to be associated with the staff in any way one would be regarded by students as 'different' and on the other side of the fence. No amount of being friendly, in-group, and jocular would overcome this first impression and would merely be taken for condescension.

Students remarked in very scathing tones about a tutor who told them not to wear their gowns in her tutorials. "We immediately feel ill at ease when she says that, in an attempt to appear friendly. We are conscious all the time of not wearing our gowns. It's the same with tutors who ask you to use their first names".

This segregation resulted in some humorous situations. One member of staff at the college was known previously to the researcher as a graduate of Edinburgh, another had been introduced by the Registrar and was the same age as the researcher. Outside the Durham situation, the latter member of staff was friendly and informal and had invited the researcher to a conference in London. However, in the college these two members of staff were compelled either to ignore the researcher altogether or/

or whisper subversively in corridors out of sight of the researcher's student companions. "I don't think you'd better be seen with us any more", said one, "when you come round for coffee, don't make it very obvious."

The situation was clarified for the more senior members of the college by the fact that as a postgraduate student the researcher was in fact clearly a member of the Junior Common Room - despite her 'visitor' status - and they would probably have been uncomfortable if the researcher had been allowed access to staff amenities. The Principal of the College, after a welcoming chat over coffee after dinner on the first day had no contact with the researcher whatever except for occasional greetings in corridors - from then on the researcher was 'on her own'.

The researcher went to Durham just before the beginning of the Spring, or Epiphany Term, and was fortunate enough to be given a room in St. Mary's College for a few days before most of the undergraduates came back. As luck would have it, a handful of final honours students came back early to do some work and it was with these girls that the researcher made her initial contacts. Four of the girls became the researcher's firm friends over the months, and in them the researcher confided her real motives for being in Durham. To these girls the researcher owes a great debt - for in fact all the subsequent contacts made and insights gained were indirectly due to them. This nucleus of friends became the starting point and base from which all activities began, and these students gradually "enculturated" the researcher into the group norms and cultures.

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This latter point is very important since in a student society particularly, a stranger can be easily identified by ignorance of jargon, terms of reference used, meanings of abbreviations, University layout, and so on.

The researcher was greatly helped in all this by the fact that both University and city were small and easy to get to know and the personal atmosphere of the collegiate set-up definitely did aid the setting up and spreading out of social networks. This is what must be discovered by 'freshers' at first arrival. Strangeness soon wears off. The fact that the researcher had spent four years in a Hall of Residence in Edinburgh also meant that certain features of college life and organisation were familiar.

From the beginning of the survey the observer wrote up a daily detailed fieldwork diary so that spontaneous impressions and observations would be recorded before being overlain with further experiences.

At the same time as contacts were being made at this level, participation was also progressing along another front. The Head of the Department of Geography had undertaken to treat the researcher as a full member of his department for the duration of her stay, and had promised the use of a room for study purposes, and to use as a base. This was essential in the establishment of a 'role'. As a postgraduate student it was quite feasible that the researcher had come from Edinburgh University to study in the Department of Geography (in which Anthropology is a sub-section). This provided a raison d'etre for the researcher and somewhere to/

to go when everyone else was at classes - since a normal routine had to be followed. As the Geography Department was already overcrowded, the only work space that could be found for the researcher was in the Observatory, high on a hill overlooking Durham, and which could only be reached by a twenty minute tramp through fields, at that time covered in ice and snow. This tramp lengthened to half an hour when, at the beginning of term, the researcher had to move into a bedsitter some distance away from the college. The whole thing lent authenticity to the researcher's 'studentness' which no-one questioned once they learnt that the researcher was working in the Observatory - observing they knew not what. There is a great stress in Durham on courtesy and acceptance of the status quo - so that once the researcher was ensconced in the College - coming in regularly for meals, having coffee with the final years, and being recognised by staff - no-one dreamed of questioning why she was there beyond the limits of a few polite questions.

There is much to learn from this about perception of situations and of role performance. With the minimum of appropriate 'attributes' the researcher was not seen as a stranger to the group but as a full member and whatever she said and did could not destroy this perception of the situation. She learned towards the end of her two term stay by the 'college grapevine' that the younger girls had been speculating as to her identity - since it was obvious that she knew the place and was well known - although they had never seen her before nor heard her name. Their eventual solution to this situational incongruity was that she must be/

be one of those unfortunate girls who went away for a year or two to have a baby and then returned to complete their degree course. Thus was the available evidence fitted into the accepted perceptual pattern.

This happened in a college of 200 students who were used to postgraduates who lived out and occasionally came into meals - it is doubtful whether the researcher would have remained undetected in a much smaller college. As to the ethics of the situation, the researcher felt it her duty to tell the truth to those who openly asked her what she was doing there - but not to tell anyone who did not ask. It was surprising how few people ever asked. This was in direct contrast to the Newcastle situation.

With St. Mary's College and the Geography Department as bases the researcher was able to wholeheartedly join in student activities and to enjoy joining in. She also made contact, through the official machinery, with heads of colleges and members of teaching staff who were very helpful in their comments and provided information which the researcher could never have gained at first hand. Other avenues of information were provided by the President of the S.R.C. and Senior Men and Women of the Colleges. The researcher was assisted in her task by her feminine role and was able to join new groups more easily because she was a woman. Nevertheless, her knowledge of the men's colleges is more vague than her knowledge of the women's colleges.

The climax of her brief stay in Durham came when she was elected Chairman/

Chairman of the Bookshop Committee of the S.R.C. - though she was neither a registered student nor member of the S.R.C. The President of the S.R.C. and the Senior Man of Grey College nominated the researcher with her permission - not merely as an experiment - but also because they genuinely wanted her to take on the job. They both knew of her real purpose in being in Durham, and this did not deter them. At the S.R.C. Council meeting no-one opposed or questioned the nomination - so the researcher was unanimously elected. This in itself is rather a comment on the familial way in which the Durham S.R.C. is run. After toying with the idea of actually running the Bookshop Committee and after being instructed in the workings of the Bookshop by the previous Chairman, she was compelled regretfully to resign "through pressure of work" - and sent a letter to the S.R.C. to this effect.

This could never have happened in Newcastle or Edinburgh University due to the vast differences in organisations. The author in fact must record that the spheres into which she was accepted in Newcastle were very limited. Her sister had been a student at Newcastle for two years and she had already visited her several times and met her friends - so that this was to be her entree into Newcastle student society. In effect this led to her being accepted only by the limited circle of her sister's friends - who, being Fine Artists, tended to remain an isolated and enclosed group. Indeed by being associated with Fine Artists the researcher found she could not be accepted by certain groups opposed to them on principle.

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The Registrar, being slightly antagonistic towards the survey, did not put the researcher in touch with any members of staff and the Department of Anthropology, although providing a base, was too small and too cut off to be the starting point for any social contacts. All official channels were therefore closed to the researcher - and the situation did not improve on this score until the researcher made contact with the Warden and Assistant Warden of Lodgings who were extremely co-operative, offered a room for interviewing and gave some idea of what 'life on the inside' is like. This was particularly useful since their supervision of accommodation gave them much information on students and their way of life. This bias one had to be aware of was that the wardens normally only saw the dissatisfied students.

The researcher shared a flat with her sister, and although it was in the student 'bedsitter belt' this immediately limited contacts to a selected few. She travelled in daily to the Department, or to the Registrar's Office or the Union and got used to waiting and wasting time and seeing no-one, and in fact led the rather miserable "cut-off" life that probably falls to the lot of quite a few students, undergraduate and postgraduate, and which the researcher had not previously experienced. Although attending student meetings she never felt "in" and a visit to the S.R.C. became a ceremonial surrounded by bureaucratic red tape and only sanctioned after a visit to the S.R.C. President in his lush office. The President of the S.R.C. and of the Union were very helpful in their comments, but their sponsorship went no further than inviting the researcher/

researcher to visit further meetings of the S.R.C. or M.S.C. strictly as an observer. Visits were made but the situations were unreal and "stagey". The researcher learnt far more from sitting round talking and drinking coffee in the Union than she ever did from these meetings.

Although she was accepted as "Wendy's sister" and a post-graduate student the organisation was not geared to the perfect assimilation of new personnel, and the machinery was lacking which would have integrated her into one of the groups. More people questioned her reason for being there, and once known the researcher was conscious of being "different" which made her seem more different to those around. It is a circular process. The progressive alienation set up mental reactions in the researcher which threatened to bias her findings, so the only solution was to stop attempting to participate; to carry out the survey, this time as officially as possible, and then leave. The experience in Newcastle, in which in a sense nothing happened, was as meaningful as the experience in Durham which was crammed with activity. It cannot be denied that the researcher's experiences as well as her observed information have helped to mould the findings of the surveys. Bias must be taken into account - but what must not be taken for bias is argument based on a general impression or consensus of opinion.

The researcher checked both her personal observations and some of the statistical evidence which needed clarifying by holding intensive one hour long <u>follow-up interviews</u>.

These/

These were not meant to be a random sample but were chosen from students who had indicated their willingness to be interviewed to illumine certain points. Thirty-two interviews were held in Edinburgh. The researcher hoped to carry out 100 in Durham but was cut short after the 55th by acute appendicitis. The required 100 was achieved in Newcastle without mishap. These interviews were analysed in terms of the qualitative rather than the quantitative data they could supply and many interesting remarks were recorded verbatim. The interviewees were very co-operative on the whole and broadened the base of the qualitative material somewhat since they were a cross section of students from every kind of faculty and background.

In contrast to the formal questionnaires the interviews were unstructured and the researcher encouraged students to talk about everything they thought pertinent to the enquiry - while keeping within broad limits. In this way, some points were raised which might otherwise have been overlooked. The researcher sat behind a table to establish her role and took notes throughout.

In some ways the questionnaires, interviews and periods of participant observation represent different degrees of identification with the material studied - and each acts as a check upon the others.

In the interpretation of data which follows much of the process of identification, observation, analysis, cross-checking and rethinking is naturally not seen - and by now the researcher has herself so internalised/

internalised the whole process that she would be hard put to it to trace her stages of thought. Nevertheless, like the submerged nine-tenths of the iceberg the basic groundwork supports all the material presented and without it there would have been nothing to be seen.

In the three chapters which follow findings will be presented which show that there are meaningful social class groups within the University and that these exhibit different culture patterns with regard to the students' families, their own motivations for coming to University and their participation and leadership in student affairs. These culture patterns are meaningful in terms of the index of occupational status of father discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

PART TWO

CHAPTER IV

The Students and their Families

As has been explained in the Preface and Chapter I the author's first concern was to discover the social class composition of the three Universities, and to attempt to discover evidence of expansion of educational opportunity in response to the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. It has been noted in Chapter I that cultural factors are at work in educational selection which prevent the working class from taking advantage of educational opportunity. This being so, the author has also set out to discover whether the social class groupings revealed by the occupational index reveal distinct cultural patterns within the University. If such cultural patterns or groupings emerge among students then it would seem that one may proceed to investigate social class as a factor in students' social relations as representing a meaningful social category within the University context. And if what we have called 'social class of origin' is that which reveals these cultural patterns one may use it also to discover other meaningful 'social class' distributions in terms of attitude and behaviour.

We begin with an analysis of the students' social class of origin as determined basically by occupation of father, i.e., the student's Assigned social class. Findings are shown in the Table below.

Table 1 /

Table 1

Social Class of origin	Edinburgh %	Edinburgh No.	Durham %	Durham No.	Newcastle %	Newcastle No.
Upper Class	0.6	2	0	0	0	0
Upper Middle Class	39	126	29	101	32	199
Lower Middle Class	44	140	46	161	44	280
Working Class	15	48	21	77	20	124
No occupation stated	2	6	4	13	4	26
	100.6	322	100	352	100	629

The most striking result here is the small proportion of working class students in each University - smaller in fact than that which has previously been estimated.[1] In direct contrast to the paucity of working class students are the large numbers of lower middle class students. It would seem that at least in these three Universities, as has been suggested, it is the lower middle class and not the working class which is growing in relation to the upper middle class in the three Universities - towards a reflection of its comparative size in the population.[2]

In the Edinburgh sample there is a higher proportion of upper middle class students and a lower proportion of working class students than in either of the other samples. This result was checked and counter-checked in an effort

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1. For example, Glass (1954) op. cit., 26 per cent and Kelsall (1957) op. cit., 25 per cent.

2. Cole, G.D.H., Studies in Class Structure (Internat. Lib. of Sociol. and Soc. Reconstr.), London, 1955, p. 153.

to discover any underlying errors in classification, or any bias in replies in terms of students' social class.[1] No such bias or errors could be discovered, so that since the sample has been shown in Chapter III to be representative of the student body as a whole the social class composition must be taken as a true reflection of that which exists in the total student body. If working class students were more reticent in returning the questionnaires it cannot have been in such large numbers as radically to effect the overall proportions.

There can be no suggestion that the selection machinery at the University entrance level is consciously biased in favour of any of the social classes, since at Edinburgh the social class of the potential student, as indicated by parental occupation, is not known, except in the Medical Faculty, and no interviews are held. We must turn, therefore, for explanation to the "educability" mentioned by Halsey.[2]

There are a variety of possible explanations for the exceedingly small proportion of working class students in the Edinburgh sample. Firstly, it may be said that the long-standing tradition and high reputation of the Edinburgh Medical Faculty would tend to bias the social class composition towards the upper middle class. In addition, it was discovered that a high proportion of students' fathers in faculties other than the Medical Faculty also are of the medical profession. Secondly, one might argue that the English students who come to a Scottish University may be expected to be largely of the upper middle class, since the English working class student, assumed to be more parochial and eager to avoid extra travelling expenses,

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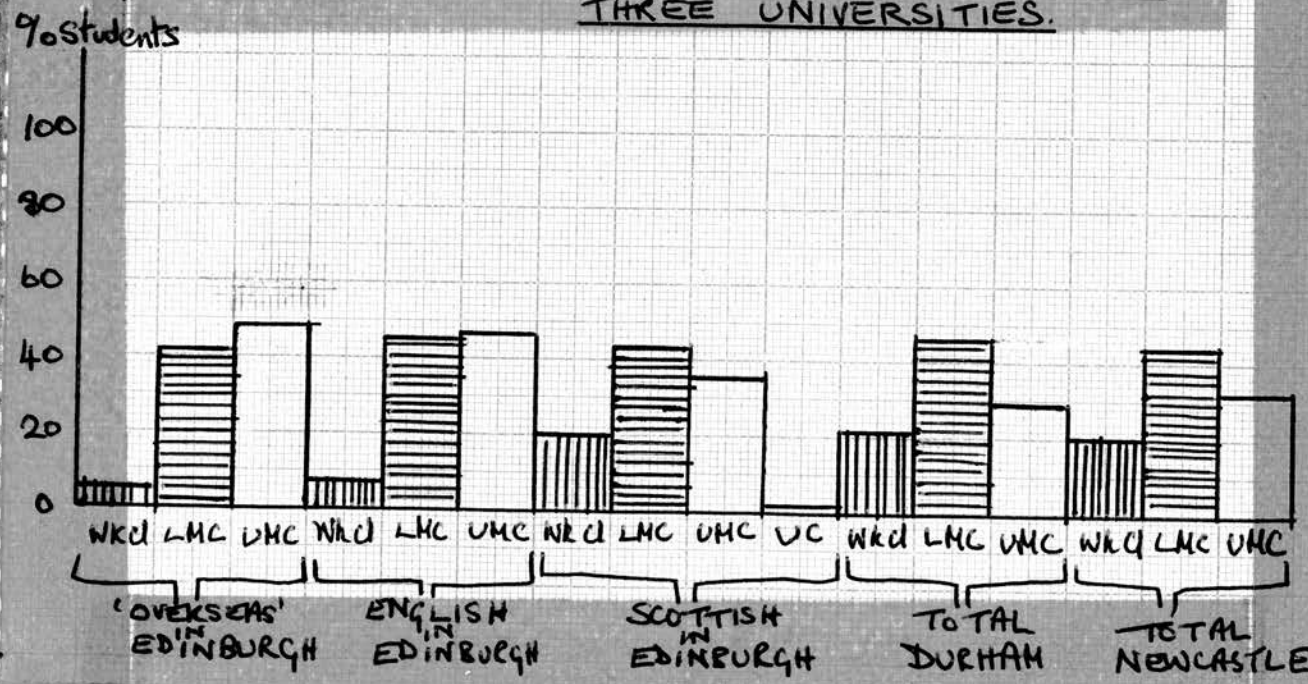
1. See Abbott, J., op. cit., pp. 34-38.

2. Halsey, op. cit.

would tend to go to a University nearer home. This argument proves true for the majority in that those English working class students who do come to Edinburgh, particularly from the North of England, choose it precisely because it is a long way from home and because as a "non-redbrick" University it represents a good choice for the socially ambitious. In this sense they are a special section of the working class. Since these and a variety of facts tend to underline to some extent the upper middle class nature and atmosphere of the University, it appears more striking that in fact the results discussed show in some part the expansion of the lower middle class in the University at the expense of the upper middle class.

The following breakdown of the Edinburgh sample into Overseas, English and Scottish samples, alongside the Durham and Newcastle results reinforces this viewpoint.

TABLE 2. SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE THREE UNIVERSITIES.



From the figures on the three Edinburgh samples an interesting pattern emerges which looks roughly like some kind of cyclical expansion or contraction of the social class proportions. In the Overseas sample, which we shall assume is biased in favour of the wealthier students gaining part of their education abroad, the working class is tiny and the lower middle class is slightly smaller than the upper middle class. In the English sample, which represents greater equality of opportunity, and yet, as explained earlier, exhibits a tendency to bias towards the upper middle class, the lower middle class and the upper middle class are almost equal and the working class has expanded slightly. In the Scottish sample the lower middle clas is larger than the upper middle class and the working class is increasing in its wake. It is significant that the Scottish distribution approximates very closely to that of the other two Universities and that these proportions are reasonably consistent.

It may be suggested that, in terms of a mechanistic model from which the element of time has been eliminated, the three Edinburgh samples represent something like three stages in the expansion of educational opportunity in which the lower middle class is the barometer of change and initiates movement. This represents a "seeping down" through the system of educational opportunity which will in time reach the working classes with increasing acceleration.

An increased proportion of <u>first</u> year lower middle class students may be seen as a symptom of this developing process, which may also be represented in terms of "flows".

The researcher is only too aware of the weaknesses inherent in this theory of cyclical expansion of social classes, as based upon the data here

available. Much is speculation, much deduction, and such actions as the grouping together of "Overseas" students bristles with flaws. Yet in this case the author feels justified in making a "leap in the dark". Although naturally each University will exhibit its own individual features of expansion of educational opportunity the other findings in the Universities here discussed would seem to justify that "leap".

Side by side with the Edinburgh "model" the Durham distribution takes on the appearance of the next stage in the process - with a declining proportion of upper middle class students being replaced by an increasing proportion of lower middle class students while the working class remains constant.

Before the Newcastle results were analysed both students' and staffs' subjective interpretation of the prevailing atmosphere and mores of the University tempted the author to predict that the social class composition would fall yet further along this "line" of expansion with an increased proportion of working class students approaching that of the lower middle class. These attempts at prediction were confounded by the discovery that the Newcastle social class composition does not differ significantly from that of Durham. Although initially this is surprising in the light of other findings, it becomes more understandable when one remembers that until two years ago Durham and Newcastle were one University and that many students selected by King's College, Durham, are now members of Newcastle University. Thus it would have been even more surprising had the social class composition of the two Universities differed widely.

It was in attempting to discover why the expected and supposed social class composition of Newcastle University differed from reality, and what

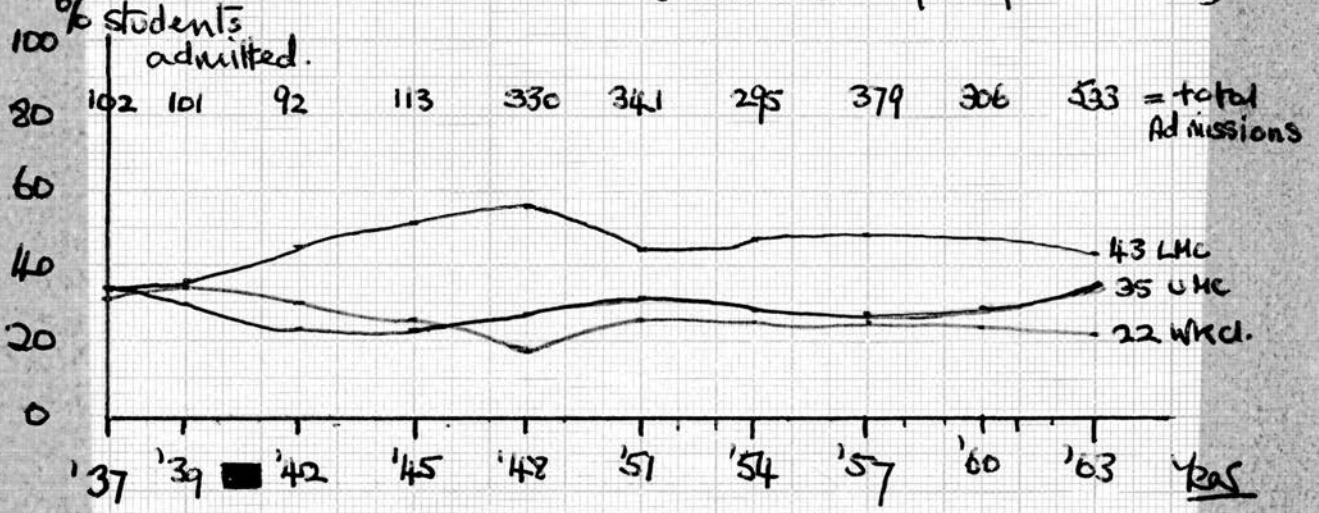
factors influenced these expectations, that the author came upon explanations central to the formation and structure of social groups, which clarified certain problems to some extent and re-orientated her analysis. This is discussed fully later - and the author will attempt to lead the reader stage by stage through her argument as she herself was led by the emergence of new findings. Suffice it to say here that the reasons why those within the situation perceive the social class composition to be different are a complex set of interacting factors crucial to a study of students' assimilation and participation in the student body.

At this stage in the argument we must consider additional evidence of the way in which the proportions of social classes may change within the Universities - in relation to the cyclical model of expansion discussed above, and of the part which the 1944 Act has played in such changes. This 'additional evidence' was gained by the author through a historical analysis of the social class composition of a sample of students taken randomly from the Durham University admissions register at three-yearly intervals from 1937 when the University was reconstituted, until 1963, the academic year of the survey.

The samples taken ranged from a 50 per cent sample in the late 1930's when total numbers of admissions did not far exceed 100, to a 20 per cent sample in 1963 of the 533 admissions of that year. The findings are in no way meant to be conclusive since the numerical bases are too small for this - yet in that they are representative of total admissions they may be of some help in showing how in Durham University trends of social class composition changes emerge. No provision has been made for changes in status of occupations through the years - although the time span is such that such changes may not be radical; nor is account taken of overall changes in the social class structure

TABLE 3 SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF DURHAM UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS 1937 - 63.

(Taken at 3 yearly intervals)



■ Figures for this period unreliable due to services intake

1937 Reconstitution of University of Durham.

the upper middle class - between 1948 to 1951. While these figures were as yet unknown the Registrar of the University had stated in private communication to the author that the prestige of the University had begun to rise to its present height "around 1950". This rather special coincidence would seem to be indicative of certain features of University organisation with further implications for the argument of this thesis.

One may only speculate upon the causal relationship of these facts and perhaps none are valid. Whether local miners sons became supplanted at the 'local' University by more middle class students because of the attraction of a collegiate University with rising reputation, or whether the increasing flow of Oxbridge 'rejects' - in a growingly competitive field - into Durham University enhanced its reputation, one cannot know, but in each case the process becomes circular and is in time reinforced as in a 'self-fulfilling prophesy'[1]. Thus there was a higher proportion of working class students in Durham in 1938 than there is now. Of course, numbers themselves may be constant - while only the middle class has grown, with expansion in number of places.

Many questions are raised by these findings, and can only be answered by further research - but by raising questions the facts give the research its shape. One cannot escape the wider implications for the implicit 'hierarchy' of Universities, or of why certain students go to certain Universities either in terms of choice or selection or both. From this stems the fact that the social class composition of every institution might be expected to be different and to undergo different processes of change.

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1. Merton, Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Rev. ed., Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1957, p. 128.

It would seem that as has been speculated, in these three Universities, the working class proportion has hardly increased in recent years and may even have remained static. Selective processes, therefore, which are at work at primary and secondary levels of education would seem not to have lost all their potency at the stage of University entrance. This brings us again to a study of the cultural factors in the students' home life which encourage of discourage the taking of educational opportunities.

This would suggest also that the prevailing values are middle class values and that as Halsey says the working class child who succeeds academically is usually a-typical in family attitudes and psychology.[1]

To test the validity of this remark we must look at the characteristics of other members of the students' families. Firstly, we shall examine the comparative <u>family sizes</u> of the social classes in the three Universities in order to discover if there is any distinctive class pattern of family size at this level, that would in a sense compare with Nisbet's findings described earlier.[2]

<u>Table 4</u> (For further Tables please see Table 7 of Appendix)

(1) Edinburgh FAMILY SIZE

	Upper Class	%	Upper Middle Class	%	Lower Middle Class	%	Working Class	%	Uncl.	%	Total	%
	n=2		n=126		n=140		n=48		n=6		n=322	
Only child			12		18		19		17		16	
1 sibling		48	36	56	38	48	29		50		36	
2 siblings			29		22		31		17		25	
3 siblings	50		14		13		15		--		14	
4 siblings			6		3		2		--		3	
5 siblings	50		2		4		--		16		4	
6+ siblings			1		2		4		--		2	
Total	100		100		100		100		100		100	

1. Halsey, <u>op. cit.</u>,
2. Nisbet, <u>op. cit.</u>,

FAMILY SIZE
(contd)

(2) Durham

	Upper Class	%	Upper Middle Class	%	Lower Middle Class	%	Working Class	Uncl.	%	Total	%
	n=0		n=101		n=161		n=77	n=13		n=352	
Only child			13		22		23	38		21	
1 sibling		50	37	72	50	67	44	31		44	
2 siblings			23		19		26	7		21	
3 siblings			19		6		4	15		9	
4 siblings			6		2		1	—		3	
5 siblings			1		2		1	8		1	
6+ siblings			1		—		—	—		1	
Total	—		100		101		101	100		100	

(3) Newcastle

	n=0		n=199		n=280		n=124	n=26		n=629	
Only child		54	11		23		19	15		18	
1 sibling			43	69	46	67	48	27		45	
2 siblings			26		18		16	35		21	
3 siblings			13		7		11	4		9	
4 siblings			3		3		2	12		3	
5 siblings			1		1		2	8		2	
6+ siblings			4		2		2	—		2	
Total	—		101		100		100	101		100	

Among the families of the students of the three Universities there is a remarkable similarity of distribution between the members of the same social class. In each case the lower middle class emerges as the social class group with an overall proportion of smaller families. If one considers small families as those in which the student is an only child or only has one sibling - then in Edinburgh, 56 per cent of the lower middle class students come from small families, compared with 72 per cent in Durham and 69 per cent in Newcastle. This would seem to be compatible with the fact that it is the

lower middle class which is expanding in the Universities - which could be assumed to be more aspiring in its aims and accordingly 'geared' for success. These findings are illuminated by those of Nisbet, Floud and the 'Early Leaving Report'[1] which show that intelligence correlates with family size and educational success.

The working class students on the whole also come from small families - and a larger proportion of these than in the upper middle class. If the configurations followed population trends the lower social class the greater would be the proportion of large families. So in this sense the working class families are to some extent a-typical of the rest of their social class. The fairly consistent proportion of small families in every social class shows that, despite the wide range of family sizes the factors of selection operate in favour of members of the smaller families and that this is to some extent irrespective of social class.

In consideration of the breakdown of the Edinburgh sample into 'nationality' divisions (Appendix, Table 8) we may see other cultural factors brought into play. Fifty per cent of the Scottish sample were from families where the student was an only child or had one sibling compared with 56 per cent in the English sample and 26 per cent Overseas. These differences may partly be due to cultural differences in family size in the population. On the other hand, it could mean that the selection process in each case tends to pick out people from larger or smaller families.

If, as seems likely, the more stringent the selection, i.e., the few working class who succeed in getting into University - the greater the success of the able child from a small family, one would expect the working class sample to have the smallest families. (In fact, it may be observed that the opposite seems to obtain between Universities - Edinburgh

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1. ibid.,; Glass, op. cit.,; Central Advisory Council for Education, op. cit.

with the smallest proportion of working class students has the smallest proportion of small working class families). However, a detailed analysis of the child order of the successful student would throw light on this. It may be that only eldest children come from small families, where there are not many other siblings to provide for, whereas in some working class homes a son or daughter would be enabled to go to University by the presence of wage-earning elder siblings. In this case, the sacrifice of the student as a wage-earner could be more easily overcome. If we consider figures on siblings' education level we have some small indication of child order although the analysis was not designed to show this.

The following tables show the proportion of students' siblings of appropriate age who received or had received a University or College education. The figures for Edinburgh only show University educated siblings since the question did not at that time ask about College - this was added later.

Table 5 (Please see Appendix, Table 9)

Siblings' Education

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Uncl.	Total
EDINBURGH						
University	100	66	44	27	100	50
Others	---	34	56	73	---	50
Total	100 n=2	100 n=105	100 n=148	100 n=52	100 n=3	100 n=310
DURHAM						
College	---	36	38	19	---	33
University	---	32	32	12	---	27
Neither	---	32	30	69	---	40
Total	---	100 n=107	100 n=95	100 n=58	---	100 n=260

Table 5 (contd)

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Uncl.	Total
NEWCASTLE						
College	---	23	30	15	---	24
University	---	43	27	14	---	31
Neither	---	34	43	71	---	45
Total	---	100 n=216	100 n=202	100 n=123	---	100 n=541

Firstly, if we consider that there is a similar proportion of families of each size in each University it is clear that the Durham students have a far smaller proportion of siblings who are of or over University entrance age - thus indicating a larger proportion of younger brothers and sisters than in the other two Universities. This is worth bearing in mind, for it is not fanciful to suppose that students from different social classes who come as the first of their family to University will be a different kind of sample from those who have elder brothers and sisters - possibly also at University.

The figures showing siblings' education reveal a marked difference between Edinburgh and the two other Universities. A uniformly higher proportion of students' siblings in each social class are receiving or have received a University education. If figures relating to College education were available, no doubt the figures would be even more startling. In Appendix Table 9 is shown the Edinburgh breakdown into 'nationality' samples where we find that the proportion of English siblings at University is generally lower than that of Scottish siblings.

Thus we may compare the overall academic achievement of students' families. As one might expect, there is in each Table a definitely significant gradient of percentage of siblings at University from the upper class down to the working class. This would seem to show that the chance of selection of students' siblings is not weighted in favour of certain family size, since the lower middle class has the smallest families and the upper middle class and working class have a similar distribution of small families. Social class factors obviously come into play in the process of selection of 'families' as well as individuals. The upper middle class is the class in which whole families of siblings have a better chance of obtaining a University education, even though the families are larger than in the lower middle class. It is lower down the scale that family size operates as a factor in selection. In the working class it is obviously more a matter of chance getting a child into University and one not necessarily repeated.

This would seem to disprove Jackson and Marsden's claim that "the selective process in the schools picked out and held not just gifted individual children, it selected families".[1] If this were so, then working class students' siblings would have increased likelihood of a University education. The only sample which would seem to confirm the argument is the English working class previously described as a small, highly selected and ambitious group, who have 63 per cent siblings at University, compared with the 21 per cent of the Scottish working class sample. We may look for an explanation of this seemingly anomalous figure in the fact that the greater the degree of selection along social class lines, and therefore the smaller the working class group, the more will the system select families

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1. Jackson and Marsden, op. cit. p. 126.

rather than individuals. It is to this which Jackson and Marsden are particularly referring in their study of working class children. These families are a-typical of the working class and therefore more likely to be selected in a system geared to the middle class. In this situation, since it is the family rather than the individual which is chosen by the system it is likely that more than one member of it will benefit from a University education. This being true, the English working class sample as an extremely stringently selected group may be expected to be unlike the other working class samples in other ways too. This will be seen to be so in further analysis.

The 21 per cent figures for the Scottish working class, although somewhat higher than the 12 per cent Durham and 14 per cent Newcastle reveals that in a larger, i.e., less selected group in a situation of more eqyal opportunity individuals more often than families are selected.

It may well be that there is a 'threshold' of selection beyond which the Jackson and Marsden hypothesis does not hold good, and in which situation an intrinsically different type of working class child and family is selected. A specific project would have to be devised to show where that threshold is, i.e., where working class candidates chosen remain more working class than middle class in their culture and values. This has many implications for future behaviour within the educational situation, and for the extent to which students may expect to be 'socialized'.

Halsey has suggested that working class families selected are "s-typical in family attitudes and aspiring in their aims". It well may be that there has been excessive concentration on the first half of this sentence and not enough on the latter half. The fact that these families

are "aspiring" may well be more important than that they are a-typical. This cannot be answered here. Only a suggestion is made.

It is not clear why there should be an overall higher proportion of students' siblings at University in Edinburgh than in the other two Universities. One reason could be that there is conscious selection of students with other members of the family at University - as a question is asked about this on the application form. This cannot be ascertained. Whatever the reasons it is clear that the proportion of siblings also at University is an important factor in a student's home background in any social class - since the help and guidance of a contemporary at University is often of more help to the new student than that which could be provided by a parent's experience of University some time ago. Students asked about the problems of first generation University students (i.e., students with neither parent having been at University) often point out this fact, i.e., that having had a parent at University may be an irrelevant factor in terms of the student's University experience.

Before we turn to an examination of the percentages of first generation University students, a brief examination of further breakdowns of the Newcastle and Durham figures in terms of siblings sex reveals an important indication of the way in which sex differentials at University level still largely exist. (Please consult Appendix Table 9).

It is immediately apparent that students' male siblings have a far greater chance of obtaining a University place - and that the sex differential increases down the social scale. Only 7 per cent of working class students' female siblings obtained a University place, compared with 40 per cent upper middle class male siblings Durham, and 55 per cent Newcastle. This is not entirely unexpected in the light of Douglas' writings and Early

Leaving Report and Robbins Report findings.[1] A similar, though less marked differential emerges, among students themselves as the following tables of sex and class distributions show, with proportion of female students decreasing down the social scale. (It is interesting to note that a higher proportion of female siblings gain College places and that class differentials at this level are not so marked - perhaps a sign of level of expectation and opportunity). The social class and sex differentials combine to make it exceedingly difficult for the working class girl to obtain a University place. Those who do, in Jackson and Marsden's terms,[2] are often of the 'sunken middle class', working class for a generation but with middle class values and aspirations - often embodied in the mother.

This brings us back once more to a consideration of parental educational level. Mother's and father's educational level are considered separately and in the Edinburgh sample there is an additional breakdown in terms of nationality. Newcastle samples are broken down in terms of students' sex.

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1. Little and Westergaard, op. cit., "A working class girl has a 1 : 600 chance of entering a University - a 100 times lower than in the professional class".

2. Jackson and Marsden, op. cit., pp. 53-56.

(Please see Appendix, Table 10)

Table 6 Education of Parents

EDINBURGH:	U.C. %		U.M.C. %		L.M.C. %		W.C. %		Uncl. %		Total %	
Left School	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.
12,13	-	-	-	1	3	4	6	8	17	17	2.5	3
14 yrs	-	-	3	1	19	19	44	42	--	--	16	15
15 yrs	-	-	5	1	16	10	27	36	17	--	13	10
16 yrs	-	-	19	6	22	16	6	2	17	17	18	10
17,18	-	-	17	7	17	26	11	6	33	--	16	15
College	-	-	19	8	13	12	2	-	17	--	15	8
Univ.	50	100	29	71	4	4	2	2	--	50	15	32
Ed.Priv.	50	--	3	-	1	-	-	-	--	--	2	--
Nt.Schl.	-	--	-	2	-	2	-	-	--	--	-	1.5
Fshng.Scl.	-	--	1	-	1	-	-	-	--	--	.6	-
Indus.Exms.	-	--	-	1	-	4	-	-	--	--	-	2
Unknown	-	--	4	3	4	4	2	4	--	17	4	4
Total	100	100	100	101	100	101	100	100	101	101	101	100
No.	2	2	126	126	140	140	48	48	6	6	322	

DURHAM:	U. M. C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass. %		Total %	
	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.
Unknown	1	2	1	3	1	-	8	8	11	2
12,13	-	-	4	4	12	12	-	8	4	4
14 yrs	8	3	24	26	49	54	23	30	25	26
15 yrs	10	5	21	12	21	21	38	23	18	12
16 yrs	15	7	21	22	9	9	8	15	16	15
17,18	23	6	14	19	4	1	23	8	15	11
College	24	12	11	9	3	-	-	8	13	7
Univ.	15	63	1	1	-	-	-	-	4	19
Ed.Priv.	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	-
Nt.Schl.	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	3
Fshng.Scl.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Indus.Exms.	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	101	161	161	77	77	13	13	352	

NEWCASTLE: see over

Table 6 (contd)

NEWCASTLE:	U. M. C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass. %		Total %	
	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.
Unknown	3	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2
12,13	1	1	1	2	3	6	5	5	2	3
14 yrs	4	2	29	24	59	61	19	19	26	25
15 yrs	14	2	23	22	23	13	20	17	21	13
16 yrs	19	6	19	19	67	10	15	15	17	13
17,18	20	11	12	12	4	3	25	27	13	10
College	21	12	11	11	-	1	12	-	12	10
Univ.	17	54	2	2	3	-	2	15	6	17
Ed.Priv.	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Nt.Schl.	-	2	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	3
Fshng.Scl.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indus.Exms.	-	9	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	199	199	280	280	124	124	26	26	629	

In these tables one observes different distributions between classes, between Universities, and in Newcastle, between the sexes. Firstly, as one might expect in all the samples, it appears that the lower the students' social class the larger the proportion of parents with low educational level, particularly primary, and that this is true for both parents. As one might assume on the basis of data on students' siblings, parents of Edinburgh students have an overall higher level of education than parents in either two of the other Universities. Only 32 per cent of the mothers and 28 per cent of fathers were not educated above the age of fifteen - compared with 50 per cent and 41 per cent Newcastle and 48 per cent and 43 per cent Durham. There is no significant difference in these last two configurations. The level of Scottish middle class parents in the Edinburgh sample is on the whole higher than that of English middle class parents - this refers particularly to fathers. However, it is interesting to note that more of the English middle class mothers, as well as the working

class mothers, who have reached a higher level of education than the Scottish mothers. For example, 43 per cent of the Scottish upper middle class had a college or University education; while 53 per cent of English upper middle class mothers reached this level. In the lower middle class comparable figures are 15 per cent and 24 per cent.

It would seem that the Edinburgh sample is special in the sense that it represents a greater proportion of families with a tradition of higher education - i.e., educational expansion to those families where higher education was previously unknown lags behind that of Durham and Newcastle - which we might deduce from the actual social class composition.

Interesting facts emerge when one compares mothers' with fathers' education. In the Edinburgh sample in the lower middle class and upper middle class, the father's education on the whole reaches a higher level than does the mothers, but the working class proves the exception with, for example, a greater proportion of mothers than fathers leaving school at the age of sixteen years or over. This seems to be illustrated by Jackson and Marsden's suggestion that in working class families it is the mother who often has the greatest influence on the child's education and that if she herself has had a Grammar School education, there is increased likelihood that her children will go. In such an event, an ambitious mother will encourage her child to think of going to University, and perhaps bring to fruition her unfulfilled ambitions for herself.

This pattern is mirrored in the Durham and Newcastle samples although not perhaps so clearly. The sex distributions of the Newcastle sample seem to point to the fact that the conclusions just discussed hold

true primarily for male working class students - so that the sex differential emerges again. The fathers of working class female students on the whole had a higher education than that of the mothers and higher too than the fathers' education of male students. This would seem to suggest that fathers who themselves have reached a higher level of education are more likely to see the value of educating a girl who will nevertheless get married. It would be interesting to see how many of the girls are eldest children who take to some extent the position of a son.

When one considers figures on parents who have been to University one again finds a different configuration in the three Universities. In Edinburgh, 15 per cent of mothers and 32 per cent of fathers have had a University education - in Durham the figures are 5 per cent and 19 per cent; in Newcastle 6 per cent and 17 per cent. Again we see that a greater proportion of Edinburgh students are from families with a tradition of higher education.

This brings us to a discussion of the 'first generation University student' - that is a student neither of whose parents had a University education. There has been increasing discussion of the position and problems of the first generation student in recent years in terms which suggest that he may easily be identified within the student body by virtue of the fact that he is the first in his family to have the experience of higher education. As such he is often spoken of as though he were a member of a group which exhibits special characteristics, and which is subject to special problems and strains, not experienced by students whose parents went to University.

One must examine the truth of this assumption for it springs from the idea that within the University 'educational' class and divisions

are more significant for the student than social class of origin and all that that implies in terms of social class identity, i.e., whether a student is 'first generation' or 'second generation' is more meaningful than his social class and overrides such divisions.

We shall first examine this suggestion. As it happens, first generation student has often been confused with 'working class' student since it has been assumed that first generation students are almost exclusively working class as a result of expansion of educational opportunity. We must therefore discover whether the 'labels' themselves are syonymous and interchangeable, and whether the concept of a first generation student is in itself a useful classification. In discussing its limitations one may reveal when the concept is useful.

This will help to show how far first generation University students are a group with certain social characteristics and how far they comprise other more meaningful categories. In this will be seen once more the influence of social class factors.

As many as 63 per cent of Edinburgh students and 80 per cent of both Durham and Newcastle students are first generation students - so that they comprise a majority of the student body and not just a small group within it.

The following tables show the percentage of first generation students in each social class.

Table 7 (Please see Appendix, Table 11)

First Generation University Students

(a) EDINBURGH:

	U. C.	U. M. C.	L.M.C.	W.C.	Unclass.	Total
Parents at University	100	79	8	4	50	37
First generation	---	21	92	96	50	63
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	2	126	140	48	6	322

(b) DURHAM:

	U.M.C.	L.M.C.	W.C.	Unclass.	Total
Second generation	68	4	-	-	20
First generation	32	96	100	100	80
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

(c) NEWCASTLE:

	U.M.C.	L.M.C.	W.C.	Unclass.	Total
Second generation	60	4	3	17	20
First generation	40	96	97	83	80
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	199	280	124	26	629

The tables show the predominance which the lower middle class students, and not the working class, have in the proportion of first generation students in each University :- 63 per cent of all first generation students in Edinburgh; 57 per cent in Newcastle and 56 per cent in Durham. If one accepts what was said at the beginning of the chapter that it is the lower middle class rather than the working class which is taking advantage of the expansion of educational opportunity and acts as the barometer of change - then this evidence would seem to support that view. It is the lower middle class students from homes where higher education was formerly unknown who are flooding into the Universities. However, the fact that there are first generation students in every social class shows a general overall expansion in educational opportunity.

These figures, and particularly those which show a substantial proportion of upper middle class first generation students, point out that first generation student is by no means syonymous with working class student.

One next asks how far the social class distribution within this 'group' is meaningful or whether it may be assumed that the similarities between first generation students are greater than the social class differences. Interviewees in Edinburgh were quick to point out that first generation students "are not all the same" and that they may be distinguished in other ways - particularly by social class. The Edinburgh interview evidence and that from informal remarks was all that was available to the author in the Edinburgh survey, but the evidence produced was so striking that it became necessary to ask questions about being a 'first generation student' on the succeeding questionnaires in order that views on this point could be quantified.

In interview firstly it emerged that upper middle class students were to some extent put upon the defensive when asked about being a first generation student. Presumably it smacked of being low on the social scale at least educationally - so these students tended to stress socio-economic features of their background which compensated, i.e., they weighted the socio-economic dimension of social class greater than the educational dimension of social class.

Said one Edinburgh upper middle class student: "All first generation students are not alike. My parents did not go to University but they mix with professional people who did - so the idea is not new to me, and I have no particular problems".

The middle class students particularly the upper middle class thus implied that in <u>their</u> case 'first generation student' was not a meaningful category and did not therefore influence their life at University in any particular way.

First generation students were asked whether they had experienced any particular problems as a result of the fact that neither parent had a University education. No upper middle class student admitted to having experienced difficulties either at home or at University - and in all their remarks was the implicit suggestion that the cultural background of their homes was thoroughly compatible with University 'culture' - both being middle class.

This was <u>not</u> true of all <u>lower</u> middle class students, and here the social class divisions are sometimes less important than the fact of 'being new' and not feeling assimilated into the new life. It was the students from the lower echelons of the lower middle class who experienced

difficulties most, i.e., those socially nearest the working class. However, not all the working class students said they had experienced difficulties as a result of being a first generation student nor felt that this was in any way a 'special' category. This resulted from the combination of a variety of factors.

Firstly, those whose elder siblings had been to University said that this had been a great help to them and had 'eased' them into University life. Since the help and information was contemporary they argued that it was probably of greater assistance than having had a parent at University. This view was endorsed by some middle class students who said that their parents' University education had been of little help to them as their experience and information was so out of date. They did not experience difficulties not because they were second generation students but because they were middle class.

Thus we may see that the first generation students are not a group with general characteristics and identity - they remain members of their social class and their experiences as students will be influenced more by their social class than by their parents lack of higher education. The social class differences still emerge in discussion of an 'educational' category. Whether students experience difficulties as first generation students depends on home background as expressed in socio-economic terms. These imply cultural differences not necessarily transmitted through the medium of University education. This would seem to show that there is little evidence of an élite culture preserved and transmitted through generations only by the University.

This is also supported by the evidence that parental experience of higher education is not always relevant to the contemporary situation and that a working class student following a sibling at University feels as much at ease in the University situation as a middle class student who follows a parent.

This needs further investigation but the lesson to be learned seems quite clear that one must not take first generation student to mean more than it does and that within this category there are a wealth of cultural distinctions.

If we turn to an examination of the kinds of problems experienced by first generation students, this point will become more clear.

In the Edinburgh interviews it emerged clearly that the disadvantages most often discussed were the practical ones of not knowing what University is like and of not being prepared for it; of not knowing enough about courses to be able to choose properly - of coming 'completely in the dark about what to expect and what was expected of them'. The kind of opinions expressed show that there is a distinct difference between this kind of problem, and that experienced as a result of social class mobility - and the two should not be confused. Social mobility is discussed in Chapter XIII. The views of students about the problems of first generation University students were closely allied to opinions about the role of schools in helping to fill the 'gap' in the knowledge of University and its ways which first generation University students experience. Half of the students interviewed in Edinburgh in some way criticised their school or the University or both for not giving them any help to overcome their unavoidable ignorance in this field. Several students from the working

class and lower middle class seemed to think they had got into the wrong course through sheer ignorance of what courses are available. One or two quoted examples of friends who had given up their courses because they had been so unhappy and unsuited for them. Ignorance about how to apply to University hostels, or to get good 'digs', and such things which may seem very obvious and well known to all students were a 'closed book' to some of these first generation students and their ignorance in many ways caused them misery. Some students fail examinations because they are continually changing their 'digs', and others are prepared to "toil through their course just to get a degree at the end of it". For these students University is by no means an 'enriching' experience.

In the Newcastle and Durham surveys some quantifiable evidence was gained from questionnaires about the problems which first generation students face - and again the same opinions emerged, this time with the added weight of numbers behind them. Social class differences emerge - as expected - in the light of the Edinburgh survey - and the proportion of first generation students who experience problems is small. Reasons given for this were those first described in the Edinburgh survey; effects of lack of information about University life resulting from parental lack of higher education is mitigated by having siblings at University or college, or through the help of school and teachers - or in the case of middle class children - because/of their 'middle class' culture and values. Those who experience difficulties at University have a negative rating on any one or all of these points. Thus a working class student from a 'poor' grammar school who is the first of his family to have higher education is likely to suffer the most in terms of both lack of information and of attempt to reconcile differences in life at University and at home.

Naturally, personality factors of both the student and his family may help to overcome these disadvantages.

The following tables show the analyses of problems of first generation students in the Durham and Newcastle surveys in terms of social class of origin.

Table 8 (Please see Appendix, Table 12)

Problems of First Generation Students

(a) DURHAM:

Difficulties experienced	U. M. C. %	L. M. C. %	W. C. %	Unclass. %	Total %
Yes	16	20	27	9	21
No	84	77	72	91	77
Don't Know	--	3	1	--	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

(b) NEWCASTLE

Difficulties experienced	U. M. C. %	L. M. C. %	W. C. %	Unclass. %	Total %
Yes	9	16	23	34	17
No	87	78	71	66	77
Don't Know	4	6	6	--	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	199	280	124	26	629

In Newcastle only 17 per cent of first generation students said they experienced difficulties at University and 6 per cent did not know. In Durham 21 per cent said they had experienced difficulties and 2 per cent did

not know. The slight rise in proportion in Durham may be attributable to the fact that as we have seen it is possible that there is a higher proportion of eldest children among the working class and lower middle class at this University than at the other two.

The problems stated by these students are shown in the following tables.

Table 9 (Please see Appendix, Table 13)

Kinds of problems of first generation students

	Upper middle class %		Lower middle class %		Working class %		Total %	
	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.
No 'culture' at home	-	-	3	16	3	8	4	12
Diffic. of adaptation	-	-	4	—	6	9	5	3
Parents do not value higher educ.	-	-	13	5	9	9	12	6
Parents do not understand change	30	50	19	17	3	2	17	11
Do not understand probs.	50	6	17	26	22	20	21	23
Lack of inf.	20	31	17	12	32	43	19	29
Financial	—	—	8	9	3	3	5	7
Pressure to get on	—	6	9	2	6	-	9	2
Social class discrimin.	—	7	-	12	16	6	3	7
Parents lack of interest	—	-	10	—	—	-	5	-
Total	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100
No.	101	199	161	280	77	124	339	603

As we have already discussed, the working class experienced most difficulties although the lower middle class comes a close second.

The two problems most often mentioned are general lack of information and lack of parental understanding of what University work involves. Fifty-two per cent of these first generation students at Newcastle mentioned these problems and 40 per cent in Durham. Almost as important in Durham (17 per cent) was lack of parental appreciation of the change which had been brought about in the student's whole way of life - in interview it was discovered that this was related closely to influence of 'college' life discussed in the next chapter. Lower middle class students seem to feel this most keenly. This was also mentioned by lower middle class students in Newcastle, but only by a very small minority of working class students in both Universities, perhaps indicating less awareness of change within themselves.

Financial worries, lack of parental encouragement and social discrimination - perhaps the most expected problems - were only experienced by 19 per cent of these students in Newcastle and 20 per cent in Durham. Working class and lower middle class female students most often mentioned social class bias in selection - although they represent a very small minority.

Indeed, in interviews, it became clear that the students had largely come to terms with problems inherent in being first generation University students - but that lack of information of the most basic kind caused much unnecessary suffering. Indeed, it is likely that the percentage of first generation students who said they experienced disadvantages would have doubled had they realised that the question embraced 'practical'

problems like lack of information. Students have said this. Many misunderstood and felt it was a discussion of their family. In interview they admitted to problems of a 'practical' nature.

This relates particularly to course of study - which is after all the 'raison d'être' of the student and the central part of his University existence. If he is unhappy in his course it will have ramifications in all spheres of his University life. Unhappiness results mostly from being 'unprepared' for what University has to offer in both work and leisure - and it is the first duty of the schools to prepare potential students with the information which their parents may not be able to give.

"First generation students are in a difficult position because they get no advice from their schools or their parents. It is very easy to get into the wrong course. I know at least eight working class students who have failed their course because of this, and one or two who have voluntarily given up theirs".

There seems to be some difference in approach to this problem by different types of school. The public, direct grant and 'better' grammar schools tend to be most organised in getting hold of and passing on all available brochures and leaflets often through the person of a 'Careers Master or Mistress'. Other schools assume knowledge in pupils which is lacking, and are disorganised in even basic essentials.

"I wanted to apply to London University" said one Newcastle student, "and didn't know that you have to apply months in advance. We got no help at all with application forms and things; this was before the U.C.C.A. began. I went to my form master one day and told him I was going to apply. He said it was far too late to do anything about it - and by that time a lot

of the other Universities' closing dates had also passed".

Other students spoke of their ignorance of courses available, and expressed a longing to study sociology or psychology or economics or town planning, now that they knew they existed. Their school had channelled them into 'safe' subjects in which they could 'get by' academically but had little interest.

The following table shows the distribution of the social classes in different types of schools, which may illumine this problem yet further. Unfortunately, no figures on school last attended are available for Edinburgh.

Table 10 (Please see Appendix, Table 14)

Schools last attended

	Dur. U. M. %	New. C. %	Dur. L. M. %	New. C. %	Dur. W. C. %	New. C. %	Dur. Unclass. %	New. Unclass. %	Dur. Total %	New. Total %
Pub. schls.	32	31	11	8	1	-	13	19	17	14
Dir.grnt.p.s.	3	3	4	3	1	1	9	—	3	2
Dir.grnt.g.s.	21	11	15	9	5	6	-	15	15	9
State g.s.	37	41	64	65	83	73	68	58	59	59
Priv. or relig.	3	4	2	3	—	3	4	—	2	3
Sec. mod. or comprehensive	1	1	1	2	6	3	-	4	2	2
Tech. High	2	2	1	4	4	5	-	-	1	4
Tech. Coll.	1	7	2	6	-	9	4	4	1	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
no.	101	199	161	280	77	124	13	26	352	629

Appendix Table 14d shows the 'school' composition of the colleges which will be referred to in detail in Chapter IX.

In Newcastle, 16 per cent of students had attended some sort of Public School, compared with 20 per cent in Durham. Eleven per cent of Newcastle students had attended a Technical High School or college; only 3 per cent had done so in Durham. Apart from these distributions having interest in the present discussion, they are a meaningful division of the student body in terms of cultural groups - as we shall see in Chapter X - and operate as a factor in student social relations. It will be seen that 'school' and class divisions to some extent coincide. This will be seen to be a meaningful 'indicator' to students in their social class relations.

With regard to the present discussion it is clear that if the schools have much to do with the transmission of information - as well as culture and values - the class differentials which emerge in the 'school' composition will be meaningful in the student body in terms of student experience.

Before we discuss the implications of this with relation to students' satisfaction with their course - it may be useful briefly to consider yet more evidence of the kind of social class differentials which emerge within the student body. In the Durham survey figures were available on the students' grants or awards which were collated and analysed in terms of social class. The results are presented in the following table.

Table 11 (Please see Appendix Table 15)

Student Grants and Awards - Durham University

	U. M. C. M.	%	F.	L. M. C. M.	%	F.	W. C. M.	%	F.	Unclass. M.	%	F.	Total M.	%	F.
State Schols.	-		3	7		4	11		7	9		-	6		4
Other Grants	85		76	88		84	84		93	73		100	85		83
No Grants	15		21	5		12	5		--	18		---	8		13
Total	100		100	100		100	100		100	100		100	99		100
No.	72		29	106		55	63		14	11		2	252		100

Ten per cent of the students have no grants - compared with 8 per cent in Edinburgh - and the figure varies from class to class. As many as 20 per cent of the upper middle class female students are supported privately and female students as a whole have fewer grants than male students. No female students of the working class are supported by parents - showing, as may be supposed, that working class parents are less willing to finance a daughter through her education although as many as 5 per cent working class male students are supported by parents.

If we turn to an examination of the proportion of State Scholarships in each social class, it is immediately clear that by far the highest proportion of State Scholarships in any social class is found in the male working class - 11 per cent. None of the upper middle class male students had a State Scholarship. The lower middle class male students also had a high proportion - comprising 40 per cent of all State Scholarships gained and 50 per cent of all male State Scholarships.

The proportion of working class girls having won State Scholarships was twice that of the other two classes and as high as the proportion of lower middle class male students.

These results are comments on the process of selection as the proportion of State Scholarships is some indication of the proportion of extremely gifted students in each social class admitted. It is clear that the process of selection picks out more highly gifted working class students than middle class - or rather their giftedness compensates for social features which work against them. Similarly, working class girls have a double barrier of selection against them on account of sex and class differentials so that among those who succeed is as great a proportion of gifted students as found among the boys. There is a stready increase of State Scholarships down the social scale, indicating the counterbalancing property of ability in the face of social class disadvantage.

This is yet another example of how social class of origin may constitute a meaningful category in the student body which implies a certain configuration of variables. The fact that these configurations are by no means sharply defined is an indication of the fact that beyond a certain point in the process of educational selection there is 'blurring' of social class divisions. Nervertheless, the 'blurring' does not obscure the basic social class configurations - as in the distribution of first generation students.

We have seen how 'problems' of first generation students tend to pattern on class lines in terms of lack of information about courses and residence and so on. In the Newcastle survey there was an attempt to quantify students who were dissatisfied with course of study or type of residence.

The latter point is considered in the next chapter in the light of student expectations of University life. Some facts on the former are presented here.

Table 12 (Please see Appendix, Table 16)

Students satisfaction with course (i.e. suited to abilities and inclinations)

Newcastle University

	U. M. C.		L. M. C.		W. C.		Unclass.		Total	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	%		%		%		%		%	
Yes	79	81	74	74	81	73	86	80	78	77
No	9	9	13	15	8	9	14	20	11	11
Don't Know	12	10	13	11	11	18	--	--	11	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	443	186

Eleven per cent of students were dissatisfied with their course and 12 per cent were not sure. This leaves only 77 per cent who were satisfied that the course was suited to their abilities and talents. This would be less remarkable were it not that as we know the 'assault course' to University is so difficult and bestrewn with hazards and obstacles that one would imagine only a real desire to study a particular subject would pull one through. There are obviously other reasons for 'sticking' the course - and these are discussed in the next chapter. It is interesting to note the similarity of sex distributions.

Most of the dissatisfied students in interview described a system of 'channelling' which began almost before they were old enough to know

what was happening and then when it was too late they found themselves at University unhappily reading the 'wrong' subject. Even more depressed and depressing were those who were taking a second degree in subjects they did not like. Working class, aspiring and yet on a band-wagon they could not get off, they represented a pathetic minority.

Once again one must phrase one's analysis in social class terms - for they are meaningful in the student situation. We have seen in this chapter how the social class distribution of 'family size' is not clearly marked, although patterns emerge, and it is quite possible that in certain other material ways concomitant with family size the students families would not show such marked distributions as would appear in the total population - for example with regard to gross material prosperity. From this one might superficially assume that because gross 'clues' are missing the social classes are undifferentiated. However, in terms of educational level of parents and siblings distinct social class patterns do emerge which show that there is some cultural differentiation in the student body on social class lines. It is not accidental that education and values are so closely related for it is in terms of social class internalised value systems and educo-cultural patterns that most significant divisions among students begin to emerge. These will be discussed at greater length throughout the thesis. These patterns emerge in distribution of first generation University students and their problems at University - and in student motivations for coming to University to be discussed in the next chapter. Students 'school' as another cultural factor accentuating class divisions - adds to the picture created by these findings.

Although the socio-economic categories reveal some kind of social class patterning - meaningful also to students themselves it is not in fact

in socio-economic terms that these divisions are most meaningful. This apparent contradiction results from the fact that the socio-economic dimension although implying others need not always be seen as the most significant - as we shall be led to examine - and this applies particularly to the student context.

Thus already we are led to question what the socio-economic classes mean to students within the student body particularly in terms of the values they most often stress or exhibit. We continue with our discussion of social class distributions within the student body in the next chapter in terms of motivations to and expectations of higher education expressive of these educo-cultural divisions defined in this chapter.

CHAPTER V

Students reasons for coming to University : A comparison of motivations, expectations, and realisations

In the last chapter an analysis of the basic data about the students and their families was presented, which went some way towards showing "who the students are" in terms of an observable social class identity relevant outside the institutional framework. It will be our concern later to discover whether indeed the same points of reference are as meaningful to those acting and interacting in defined social situations as to the observed operating in terms of statistical norms. Culture patterns have emerged in terms of students' family background and social class of origin. How far they themselves recognise these patterns and consciously identify with a social class, and how their identification affects attitudes and behaviour within the student body will be discovered later. Suffice it to say that divisions in terms of statistically quantifiable constant and consistent behaviour have emerged, in terms of certain characteristics of the students' families and will be seen to emerge in an analysis of characteristics of the students themselves - particularly at the level of internalised value systems. For "in presenting our positional picture we do not perhaps freeze an ongoing course of events at some arbitrary point; but we try to extract from it an orderliness assumed to be continuous and persistent, that is, to have a relatively timeless validity".[1]

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1. Nadel, S.F., The Theory of Social Structure, London, Cohen and West, Ltd., 1957, p. 127.

Social class membership is taken as the point of reference in this analysis so as to ascertain when and how membership of the 'student' category becomes meaningful to the students themselves and to others. The previous findings by showing that in a sense the socio-economic classes analysed are meaningful cultural collectivities allow the validity of this point of view. The statement of Little and Westergaard that "social classes constitute genuine groupings, not quasi-communities"[1] needs testing, for it presupposes not only a structure of statistical norms but a subjective identification of those within and outside the 'groupings' which may only be ascertained first hand at the level of role performance.

It also involves a question of whether social class is the University is attributional and if and when it becomes interactional. At this point in the argument we are speaking about social class as a cultural collectivity or as an attribute which implies possession of certain cultural characteristics. Whether those possessing this attribute stand in certain relationships with one another will be discussed in the following chapters. At this stage we seek to establish that social class is a meaningful attribute within the student context. For "needless to say, a class of people in the society sharing some attribute or series of attributes is not for that reason also a 'group', viz., sub-group: it becomes one when 'class' equals 'role' (or quasi-role) and more important when being of a like kind goes with being 'held together' by relationships".[2] The findings of the thesis will show that within the student body these attributional social classes are in some ways 'groups' in the sense spoken of by Nadel but only

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1. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.
2. Nadel, op. cit., p. 89.

in certain circumstances - particularly defined in terms of cultural and social space. In other words 'social class' equals role only in certain situations and situations in which 'student' equals role are differently defined.

It is therefore necessary at this stage to show ways in which social class is a meaningful attribute, i.e., that it signifies certain objectively quantifiable characteristics. This is particularly true at the level of 'non-material' culture. For it would seem that within the University context only a narrow band of differences in material culture exist.

The question therefore now most pertinent is whether as products of the same process of selection, co-operating and competing within a defined institutional framework as individuals to some extent isolated from family status - they are socially and culturally more alike than different. This involves analysis not only of social class 'clues' - dress, speech, manner and so on - but also the internalised value systems which are class based. One asks how far internalised value systems are maintained unchanged and how far overlain with new values can we speak with Floud and Halsey of the reconstruction of personalities previously conditioned by class or race?[1] Or must we try to find out whether social class differences and identities persist, and for whom; and how far the student body exhibits its own specific social patterns, and how far its links with external kinship and social networks predominate?[2]

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1. Floud, Halsey and Anderson, op. cit.

2. Nadel, op. cit., p. 15. 'Pattern' is taken to mean "any orderly distribution of relationships exclusively on the grounds of their similarity and dissimilarity". 'Network' on the other hand means "the interlocking of relationships whereby the interactions implicit in one determine those occurring in others".

With these questions in mind we examine the students reasons for seeking a University education, and his particular expectations of it - in other words, the particular value patterns and achievement norms with which he came - and how far these correlate with social class identity. Naturally, as has been already postulated, the students' background influences his attitude to a University education and in consequence his subsequent actions and interactions within the student body are guided by the perceptual terms of reference with which he came.

Conversely, as Wilson says, rather more succinctly : "The clientele obviously affects an institution". He posits that: "Today there is an alien youth culture which plays on the University through young people who are not primarily committed to the ideal of education".[1] We leave aside the reference to the rather undefined 'ideal of education' and observe that Wilson imputes "two characteristics of the clientele" - "the demand for a qualification and the demand for a good time" - which may be for some justifiable reasons for seeking a University education. But the influence of clientele on an institution is by no means a one-way process - or even merely two-way - it is a continuous spiral of change. Homans states that "the relationship between group and environment is essentially a relationship of action and reaction; it is circular".[2]

The process is a spiral in that once change has been effected the relationship never returns to the previous point in the process. What the author also hopes to show is that action and reaction are prompted by the subjective interpretation of the actors in the situation, i.e., their perception of the situation - and that this may be in terms of an internalised

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1. Wilson, Bryan, "Threats to University Values", New Society, 22nd April 1965, No. 134, p. 7.

2. Homans, op. cit., p. 91.

"image" - built-up in the process and not in fact corresponding to any statistically constructed action model. Inquiries into students' reasons for coming to University investigates this process from the beginning. The student states what he thought were his reasons, and this memory may have changed over time. However, it is a convenient starting place for analysis and more practical than searching for unconscious goals of actors in the situation - which being unconscious to the student cannot be discovered by the observer.

The relevance and significance of students' motivations and expectations had not been anticipated in the Edinburgh survey so that no questions on this were included in the questionnaire. However, it soon became clear in interview that these questions are central to any investigation of the structure of the student body in determining the students definition of what a University education signifies, at least for him. In consequence, questions were asked on the Durham questionnaire and were expanded in the Newcastle questionnaire, where distinction was made between seeking entry into <u>any</u> University and this particular University. This last differentiation is relevant to any analysis of perceived and real differences between Universities, which brings us back to the "characteristics of the clientele".

Differences in reasons for coming to University had begun to pattern themselves in the course of the Edinburgh interviews, although due to smallness of numbers it was not always clear whether this was usually along social class lines. The English working class appeared almost unanimous in choosing Edinburgh as a non-redbrick University, a long way from home - geographical and social mobility being closely identified. Other "groupings"

were more difficult to see, although by comparison the Scottish working class students seemed to accept without question that they should go to the 'local' University, and travel in daily, often for many miles, and this tended to highlight the higher need for achievement of the English working class.

At that stage it seemed to be mainly the middle class students who come to University "as a matter of course" - because everyone else was doing it and it seemed just one more hurdle. First generation working class and lower middle class students seemed most eager to "learn", and put their learning to good use. The element of 'service' was most prevalent in the replies of those who had struggled most. There was an overall impression, discussed in the last chapter, of a somewhat haphazard choice of courses, of students particularly of the working class falling by accident into certain courses as a result of school indifference or mismanagement and of suffering greatly in consequence. The unhappiness and disappointment experienced had widespread repercussions on his whole University experience.

The tables on the Newcastle and Durham samples show the patterns which emerged in the qualitative analysis.

Table 13 (Please see Appendix, Table 17)

Students' reasons for choosing Durham University

(a) Those with particular reason for choosing Durham:

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W. C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	76	80	63	85	75
No	14	17	34	15	23
Don't Know	—	3	3	—	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

Table 13 (contd)

(b) Reasons for Choice of Durham:

(i) Primary Reason:

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total %	No.
Second Oxbridge	10	6	12	10	9	20
Collegiate	37	46	41	40	42	98
Prestige Univ.	9	8	5	10	8	18
Prestige Dept.	9	21	12	30	16	38
Size Univ.	10	4	9	--	7	16
Tradition	10	6	9	--	7	18
Partic. course	10	6	7	10	8	18
Not Redbrick	5	3	5	--	3	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	234
No.	68	114	42	10	234	

(ii) Supplementary Reason:

Town attractive	33	34	39	--	33	64
Person. Recomm.	23	19	16	29	20	39
New Sc. Labs.	2	3	--	--	2	4
Long way from home	12	11	10	14	11	21
Near home	5	4	6	29	6	11
Fam. tradition	5	3	--	--	3	6
Schl. tradition	8	17	26	14	16	30
Special facilities	8	5	--	14	6	11
Combination	4	4	3	--	3	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	193
No.	60	95	31	7	193	

Twenty-three per cent of the Durham students said that they had no particular reason for wanting to come to Durham University rather than any other, and this proportion varies with social class. As many as 34 per cent of working class students, compared with 14 per cent upper middle class students, expressed this view. This result was clarified in interview when some working class students said that they had not known when they applied to Durham that it

was collegiate, nor indeed had known little else about it, but they had chosen quite randomly, as with all their choices. This lack of information already mentioned, operates against the working class students. Some were profoundly unhappy in the traditional collegiate setting, particularly as it was unexpected. Further evidence of ignorance of the collegiate organisation was given by principals of colleges quoting examples of men applying to women's colleges and vice versa. One student admitted that his choice of colleges had been in alphabetical order - fortunately, and accidently, all men's colleges. However, it must be pointed out that of those working class students who did have a particular reason for wanting to come to Durham as high a proportion of working class as middle class students choce it specifically because it is collegiate. Nevertheless, it is clear that higher up the scale fewer students choose in absolute ignorance, and they more often have informed reasons for wanting to apply.

Although the one main reason for choice of Durham was asked for, students supplied so many that main reasons and supplementary reasons were analysed. Some of these were difficult to code as may be imagined, the lists provide broad categories; 42 per cent indicated a special preference for a collegiate University and 9 per cen t stated explicitly that this was because they regard Durham as "a second Oxbridge". This may be expected to influence future interactions and adaptation. The most popular supplementary reason was the "attractiveness of the town" - a point also made much of in informal and formal interview. Students implied that Durham felt like a historic, traditional and academic community because it looked like one, and it was a positive stimulus to which they could respond. "The dreaming spires" image with which it seems to many sixth formers come up to University needs less modification than in the Newcastle setting if students' observations are to be accepted. This comparison of expectations and reality and its effect on

on students' participation is discussed later.

In Durham, 20 per cent of students were personally recommended, the proportion increases up the scale, and 16 per cent came on 'school advice' - here the proportion increases down the scale. Again, these findings bear out the special role which the schools play as sources of information not available from family and friends. Only 16 per cent mentioned the prestige of the department - again more students of the working class mentioned this - and 8 per cent spoke of the prestige of the University. Perhaps these last two were implicit in previous answers - they were rarely stated explicitly. It is interesting to speculate whether in fact questions of 'scenery' and 'urban setting' are uppermost in students' minds. Are the environmental elements which go to make the University 'totem' - the spirit and the 'image' - initially more important than questions of academic prestige - so relative at the sixth form level? Could it be that to the sixth former Universities are relatively undifferentiated in terms of academic prestige since they are <u>all</u> so very difficult to get into? Differences within academic prestige only become visible once one is on the other side of the barrier and conscious of <u>internal</u> differences. Certainly they only have the words of others to go on, and <u>visible</u> differences are so much easier to grasp. These considerations could have great influence on the <u>kind</u> of 'clientele' attracted by any one University - and thus in time the kind of University which in terms of its students it will become. The question of totemic aspects of Universities is considered later in Chapter VII and has been touched on in Chapter II.

The following table shows Newcastle students' reasons for wanting to go to any University.

Table 14 (Please see Appendix, Table 18)

Newcastle Students' Reasons for wanting to go to University

(a) Those who had a particular reason:

	U. M. C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass. %		Total %	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Yes	89	84	89	85	93	76	95	100	88	
No	7	11	7	12	4	21	5	---	8	
Don't Know	4	5	3	3	2	3	--	---	3	
Total	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	99	
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629	

(b) Reasons given:

Money	3	--	3	1	2	-	-	-	2
Int. in subject	6	68	15	16	16	8	15	-	12
Want to study	21	21	21	23	14	40	35	20	22
Want degree	28	31	26	18	29	8	20	20	25
Profess. training	29	25	21	21	20	16	20	20	23
Challenge to abilts.	2	8	5	7	5	16	--	--	5
Better than working	2	-	2	3	4	-	5	20	3
Parental pressure	1	2	1	1	2	4	-	--	1
School pressure	2	-	2	2	1	4	-	--	2
Greater freedom	5	4	5	8	6	4	5	20	5
Total	100	99	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	
No.	127	48	169	77	85	25	20	5	556	

In the Newcastle sample 12 per cent of the students had no particular reason for wanting to go to a University - which is a rather sad comment on the present system of selection. In interview, one student spoke dispiritedly of hurdles which one had been trained to jump and which one became so used to facing that at the end of school one just looked round for the next one. Certainly, there was no pleasure in it - it was almost automatic. The female students in each social class provided the highest proportion of "uncommitted" candidates, which is a little surprising in view of the extra effort involved for a girl. One can only speculate that this is related to specific job aspirations. The highest proportion of committed students was among the male working class students.

Reasons given for wanting to come to University were varied and sometimes startling - as with the discovery of two per cent of students who came for "money". Although a very small percentage this was higher among middle class than among working class students. It is not clear that the monetary gain of being a student was seen to be - either in terms of grant or future earning power - but it would seem that it is not only working class students who stress the purely material benefits of a University education.

At this point it may be advantageous to turn to Table 15 (Appendix Table 19) which analyses motives for coming to University in terms of schools last attended.

Table 15

Table 15 Reasons of Newcastle students for wanting to go to University - analysed by school last attended

	Public School	Grammar School	Secondary Modern	Technical College	Total
Money	2	2	3	5	2
Interest in subject	8	12	9	14	11
Want to study	19	24	20	27	22
Want Degree	19	18	23	18	20
Profess. training	25	5	9	7	5
Chall. to abilities	3	2	-	-	2
Better than working	4	1	-	-	1
Parental pressure	2.5	1	2.5	-	2
School pressure	2.5	4	2.5	5	5
Greater freedom	5	18	23	25	19
No reason	11	14	9	--	12
Total	101	101	101	101	101
No.	179	371	35	44	629

There we see that, for instance, there is a steady increase in students expressing this view from the public school and grammar school to the technical college, and increase in concern for practical returns. Here school is an agency of culture and in some respects its influence obviously overrides social class of family. This is seen in other correlations - as also a distinct gradation which increases towards the technical colleges. Obviously we are dealing here with two types of technical college entrant - and perhaps social class is the counterbalancing feature. In fact, quite a few public school boys were discovered to have failed exams and worked their way through technical college in an attempt to get a University place. They differ in obvious

respects from industrial entrants to technical colleges who then proceed to University entrance.[1]

As many as 4 per cent public school students said that "University is better than working" - and this was more prevalent among lower middle class and working class than upper middle class students. Parental and school pressure was mentioned most by female working class students and these girls also mentioned most often the overcoming of a challenge to their abilities. This group had also by far the largest proportion of students who came to University because they 'wanted to study' and the smallest proportion of those merely wanting a qualification. The porportion of upper middle class girls wanting only a degree was slightly larger than that of working class boys - a perhaps surprising and yet not entirely inexplicable finding.

Sixteen per cent working class male students came to University because of particular interest in their subject - compared with 6.3 per cent upper middle class male students, and indeed both grammar schools and technical colleges provide a higher proportion of students with this outlook than the public schools. It would seem that the kind of built-in assumption of the influence of changing 'clientele' on University 'image' and organisation as made by Bryan Wilson[2] needs come qualifying. The kind of patterning on class lines which emerges is not altogether what is normally supposed - and yet clearly other factors such as schooling must enter into the analysis. There is no clear-cut picture which results. Nevertheless the findings do not suggest that "in their account of why they applied

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1. See Sandford, Couper and Griffins, op. cit.

2. Wilson, op. cit., p. 7.

to University no differences of background seemed to influence their reasons strongly"[1]. The influence of background is there but it cannot be entirely isolated from the other variables with which it is closely associated such as 'school' background. If one adds together students who came for interest in subject, because they wanted to study, or because they responded to a challenge to their capabilities or for specific vocational or professional training - then 62 per cent of students fall into this category - which seems a slightly more optimistic proportion that some writers would lead us to expect.

Table 16 (Please see Appendix, Table 20)

Students' Reasons for Choosing Newcastle University

(a) Those with particular reason for choosing Newcastle:

	U.M.C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass.%		Total %
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Yes	63	65	52	48	63	55	81	80	58
No	37	35	46	51	37	45	19	20	41
Don't Know	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629
(b) Reasons for choice of Newcastle:									
Prestige Univ.	1	3	7	5	2	6	-	-	3
Prestige Dept.	46	30	38	30	33	33	18	-	36
Easy to get in	-	3	3	7	5	-	-	-	3
Live at home	25	24	8	7	33	17	24	25	19
Live away from home	3	3	6	5	-	6	6	-	4
Specif.crse.	8	22	17	21	12	22	17	-	15
Domestic reasons	6	5	6	9	4	6	17	25	7
School trad.	3	-	5	2	2	-	-	25	3
Wanted to know area	7	11	6	11	-	11	12	25	7
Nowhere else would have me	1	-	3	-	9	-	6	-	3
Unstated	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1
Total	100	101	99	101	100	101	100	100	101
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629

1. Marris, op. cit., p. 29.

When we turn to students' reasons for wanting to come to Newcastle University particularly, it is perhaps surprising to find that 41 per cent had no reason at all, and for many others the choice was "often haphazard".[1] This may be explained with reference to the 'totemic' aspects of Universities mentioned earlier - and in which Newcastle and Durham may be compared. How little perception of the 'image' is based on fact and how much on a conglomeration of hearsay is borne out by comments such as that of the upper middle class student from Surrey who said: "The first thing that surprised me about Newcastle was its yellow buses. They were quite unexpected as I had never thought that anywhere so black and dirty could have yellow buses. Before I came I had a terrible impression of slag heaps and coal barges and dirt everywhere - my friends all commiserated with me when I knew I was coming here. Now I realise how misinformed I was. I quite like the city now". This student was by no means alone in his views - and it is not accidental that he was from the south of England. Geographical divisions representative as they are of cultural divisions, nevertheless increase misunderstandings and misapprehensions. Where students come from is significant in any analysis of their expectations, and this will be discussed later in the chapter.

As many as 3 per cent of students said openly "Nowhere else would have me" and 3 per cent said it was easy to get in with their qualifications. These answers are representative of an air of inferiority which pervaded a small minority of student groups - this despite Newcastle's new buildings and laboratories and major research grants. Is this another

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1. ibid., p. 18.

example of the difference between the perceived and real situation?

Another explanation of the low percentage of students choosing Newcastle may be that when many of them applied Newcastle was still part of Durham so that Durham would be their first choice. In fact, some abstractions from other data, although not totally reliable, throw light on this. Forty-one per cent of the students registered as Durham students, so presumably Durham was chosen rather than Newcastle. The difference between the social class proportions in Appendix Table 21 gives some indication, too, in changes of social class composition in Newcastle as a separate institution. As many as 82 per cent of female working class students registered as Newcastle students - and indeed there seems to be an increase in proportions of female students of every social class. From information in Appendix Table 22 we can estimate that 54 per cent of students, who were able to choose between the two, chose Newcastle. If we return to consideration of students' reasons for choosing Newcastle, it is clear that the prestige of the department or course was more explicitly attractive to students - 36 per cent expressed this[1] - than in Durham, and only 17 per cent said explicitly that they liked or wanted to know the area. Eleven per cent of students wanted to live at home, i.e., chose the 'local' University - compared with 6 per cent in Durham, while only 2 per cent said they wanted to get away from home, compared with 11 per cent in Durham. These figures go some way to conveying the local and regional atmosphere of Newcastle and the non-regional atmosphere of Durham. Again we turn to an analysis of where students come from. But before we do this it is useful to consider the Universities of students' first choice as this also is related to the part of

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1. ibid., p. 18. Compare Marris' finding that : "About 40 per cent were influenced in their choice by the reputation or suitability of the course available".

the country from which they come.

Table 17 (Please see Appendix Table 23)

University of First Choice

(a) Whether present University was first choice:

	U.M. C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass.%		Total %	
	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.
Yes	59	51	66	42	61	46	85	55	64	48
No	40	48	33	52	38	48	7	42	35	47
Don't Know	1	1	1	6	1	6	7	2	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	99	100	100
No.	101	199	161	280	77	124	13	26	352	629

(b) Other Universities of first choice:

(i) Durham Students (Universities in random order)

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Oxford	53	48	41	-	48
Cambridge	22	20	14	100	20
London	—	2	14	---	4
Manchester	5	2	—	---	2
Birmingham	8	11	3	---	8
Bristol	5	11	24	---	12
Other Redbrick	5	—	—	---	2
Irish, Welsh, Scots	-	—	—	---	—
New	2	6	3	---	4
Total	100	100	99	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

(ii) Newcastle Students

Oxbridge	7	4	4	-	6
London	23	27	17	36	27
Edinburgh	9	5	6	16	7
Manchester	6	7	14	—	9
Leeds	2	8	8	—	5
Birmingham	7	5	4	—	5
Bristol	8	3	9	—	5
Others	32	37	34	47	35
Tech. Coll.	1	1	—	—	1
New	4	2	3	—	2
Total	99	99	99	99	100
No.	199	280	124	26	629

Sixty-four per cent of Durham students claimed that the University was their first choice, compared with 49 per cent of Newcastle students having Newcastle as first choice. This finding fits in with what has previously been discussed. In Durham the proportion of first choices was highest in the lower middle class, compared with the upper middle class in Newcastle - particularly among male students. This latter result may seem unexpected in the light of previous findings - but may be accounted for partially by the public school boys from the Newcastle area who chose to go to the home University because of their many years away at school. This again brings us to a discussion of where students come from - shortly to be analysed. The other highest proportion in the Newcastle samples is among male working class students - mainly applying one assumes for Science and Applied Science. These assumptions are confirmed by Table Appendix 23a which shows that Newcastle was first choice most often among students from public schools and technical colleges.

In the Durham sample it was discovered that many students who had put Durham as being first choice admitted in interview that it was first "after Oxbridge" - but they had assumed that it was so obvious to anyone that they had not bothered to mention it. This may confuse the issue somewhat. Perhaps the smaller proportion of upper middle class than lower middle class students with Durham as their first choice originates from the fact that they are more open about their desire to get into Oxbridge first and foremost. Certainly, in Durham, it was generally realised that many students who failed to get a place at Oxford or Cambridge came on to Durham. Said one student in interview: "There are so many Oxbridge rejects here that to have had an interview puts one up a notch". Countless student conversations confirmed

that those who so nearly failed to get a place are regarded rather as an élite.

In Table 17, therefore, it is not surprising to see that of those who did not put Durham as first choice as many as 48 per cent had first chosen Oxford - although Cambridge comes a poor second with 20 per cent. As one might expect both Oxford and Cambridge were chosen most frequently by middle class students - the proportions increase up the scale. Bristol was the third most popular first choice particularly with working class students. No-one in this sample chose an Irish, Welsh or Scottish University.

The categories "Other Redbrick" account for only two per cent of first choices which is significantly small when one considers how many other "redbrick" provincial Universities there are. This perhaps indicates the special nature of the Durham sample, who aspire to something better than what they consider to be "provincial redbrick". Large numbers of staff and students consciously stress the "differentness" of Durham by referring to it consciously as 'non-redbrick' or 'greybrick' even. The fact that Durham is the third oldest University in England was the first fact that the author was told again and again soon after arrival. Indeed, there seems almost a fear of being classed with "the others" - a fate which everyone in the University is concerned to avoid. As has been mentioned in Chapter II even naming of customs, such as 'Oak up', obtaining 'exeats', paying 'battels', pays deference to Oxford and no-one would dream of calling them anything less traditional.

By contrast, Newcastle students put "other provincial universities" first on their list of choices more often than any of the others mentioned.

Thirty-five per cent chose other provincial 'redbrick'. London came second with 26 per cent first choices, followed far behind with Manchester, 9 per cent. Edinburgh with 7 per cent tops Oxbridge - in part due to those applying to the Medical Shool and having Newcastle as first choice. These latter assured the interviewer that in fact they were sorry now that they had not put Newcastle first originally - since they now think it is undoubtedly the best in the country. That Oxford and Cambridge did not hold pride of place for Newcastle students is shown by the fact that they received the same proportion of first choices as Leeds and Bristol. It is quite possible that many students thought them quite beyond their reach and neither tried for a place nor were encouraged to do so.

It is significant that over twice as many male upper middle class as male lower middle class students put Oxbridge as first choice - and four times as many as the male working class students, which bears out what has just been said. On the other hand, a higher proportion of aspiring lower middle class and working class girls as upper middle class girls put Oxbridge as first choice, while most working class girls opted for Bristol rather than 'other redbrick' - most middle class girls opted for London, perhaps indicating a trend of aspirations.

In the light of these expressed University preferences, it is interesting to note that the Report of the U.C.C.A.[1] on proportions of entrants with three C's or one A + one B, or better, Advanced level G.C.E. passes, to the different Universities. Durham was 19th out of 30 in Arts, 15th out of 30 in Pure Science and 23 out of 23 in Social Studies. Corresponding figures for Newcastle were 26 out of 30 in Arts, 25 out of 30 Pure Science, 12 out of 23 in

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1. University Central Council on Admissions, Second Report 1963-4, London, U.C.C.A., 1965, p. 11, table 14.

in Social Studies. The author was interviewing students at Newcastle at the time the U.C.C.A. Report was published and discussed in the Press. Students said that it "did the reputation of Newcastle no good"; that "the figures are misleading" and that they might "deter" the better candidates from applying". It is to be remembered that the preferences discussed cover all years, not just those of 1964 admissions, including those before the establishment of the U.C.C.A., so that no comparisons may be drawn. However, since Durham takes a comparatively high place in student preferences of those already at Durham yet is low on its proportion of 1964 'good' admissions, one may conclude with the author that student choices were made often on other than academic grounds.

Of course, one does not know on what kind of information these choices were originally made - whether on headmaster's advice or attraction of the prospectus - whether on social or academic prestige. Yet the reasons given for choice of Durham and Newcastle perhaps give some indication of what kind of things attract certain types of students to certain Universities. This needs further investigation but it could have wide implications for planning in terms of student populations. "The pattern of higher education cannot be decided only by the aspirations of its institutions. It must also take account of the needs which students will recognised as <u>personally relevant</u>".[1]

What has emerged is the relative significance of <u>where</u> a student comes from and how this factor of geographical distance interacts with that of social distance in terms of social class to place the students in certain universities, and thus greatly to influence the total student composition of

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1. Marris, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 13.

any one University. We shall see that it also influences social patterning within the University. One might assume that the greater the attractiveness of a University to a student the further he will be willing to travel to study there. Attractiveness may be interpreted among other things in terms of social aspirations and strengthening or attenuating of parental and kinship ties. One must bear these facts in mind in studying Table 18 - Appendix Table 24 - which shows the regional distributions of students in relation to social class. The Edinburgh figures were not correlated with class so must be treated as total percentages.

Table 18 (Please see Appendix Table 24)

Area of British Students' Home Residence

(a) Edinburgh (total percentages only)

Area	No.	Percent
Edinburgh	82	27
East Lothian, Midlothian, West Lothian, Clackmannan, Fife (W)	41	13
Aberdeen	1	23
Dundee	3	
Glasgow	4	
Other parts of Scotland	62	
	193	63%

London /

Table 18 (contd)

Area	No.	Percent
London	11	4
Surrey	4	1
Kent	11	4
Other South	22	8
Lancashire	9	3
Yorkshire	15	5
Cheshire	8	2
County Durham	3	1
Northumberland	8	2
Other North	10	4
Wales and Ireland	9	3
	110	37%
Grand total	303	100%

b) Durham and Newcastle

Area or City	U. M. C. %		L.M. C. %		W. C. %		Total %	
	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.
London	8	2	7	4	5	-	7	2
Surrey	6	4	5	3	1	3	4	4
Kent	3	7	4	2	1	2	3	3
Other South	30	17	27	20	23	11	27	18
Lancashire	13	5	10	8	22	7	14	7
Yorkshire	9	10	15	12	18	18	14	13
Cheshire	8	2	1	4	3	2	4	3
County Durham	10	15	11	16	9	20	10	16
Northumberland	1	26	4	9	8	18	4	17
Other North	3	5	11	15	8	14	8	12
Wales & Ireland	(3	1	(3	2	(1	1	2	1
Scotland	(	1	(	-	(	1	-	1
Overseas or Unstated	7 o	6 u	2 o	5 u	- o	2 u	3 o	5 u
Total	101	101	100	100	99	100	100	100
No.	101	178	161	274	77	124	339	567

N.B. Newcastle figures minus 28 Overseas + 24 Unclassified = 52
Durham figures minus 13 Unclassified

Of the British students in the Edinburgh sample as one might expect, 63 per cent lived in Scotland and as many as 27 per cent came from Edinburgh itself. Thirteen per cent came from districts near Edinburgh and travelled in daily, only 23 per cent came from other parts of Scotland. One may see how parochial is the Scottish sample in Edinburgh, in keeping with the Scottish University tradition where in general it is assumed that one will go to the 'local' University. Only eight students came from the University towns of Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow. As high a proportion of English students came from the South as North, i.e., counties south of the Wash - Edinburgh's attractiveness to them may be measured by the distance they have to travel. The largest contingent from the North of England come from Yorkshire. This is witnessed by the thriving Yorkshire Society at Edinburgh University which is reputed to be the largest in the University, although members do not by any means all live in Yorkshire. Although there is no social class breakdown one may assume this group to be mainly those aspiring working class Northerners discussed in Chapter IV.

Durham University only draws 14 per cent of its students from the immediate area of Durham and Northumberland compared with 33 per cent in Newcastle. We may see from the class breakdown the high proportion - 41 per cent - of upper middle class 'local' students already discussed. Conversely, 7 per cent of all Durham students come from London and only 2 per cent of Newcastle students. The 4 per cent of Londoners at Edinburgh is quite high comparing the distance between the two cities. Forty-two per cent of Durham students come from London and the South combined, compared with 26 per cent in Newcastle. In Durham the Southerners are largely middle

class; in Newcastle the middle class students, too, are largely Northern.

These results establish Durham and Newcastle being indeed what they appear to be - the former a non-regional University drawing its students from all over Britain; the latter as a 'regional' University with students mainly Northern and local. This is a significant difference when one considers that these two Universities are barely 20 miles apart and were, until two years ago, one University. One asks which factors are involved here, and whether the totemic aspects of the two Universities are related to the regional 'status' of the type of students they attract. Do the students as members of regional groups affect the character of the institution, or does the institution attract particular regional groups? This problem is solved to some extent if one accepts to any extent the idea of a 'hierarchy' of counties in a prestige ranking of status - the 'image' of a county which is self perpetuating and labels its members socially. Certainly, this hierarchy is reflected in the acceptability of accents. A Somerset accent is more acceptable than a Lancashire one - although basically this seems fairly irrational. In the same way, Yorkshire and Lancashire with their "Coronation Street image" rank as low status counties - Surrey and Kent as high status counties. All this is implicit in what people say and do - most people act in accordance with these beliefs - no-one has defined or explained them. Almost one feels that they are never made explicit because then they would be seen to conflict with the prevailing values of society. Yet they constitute real divisions and concrete cultural realities which may cut across other social and cultural groups. If one accepts that these divisions and evaluations exist and persist - then one may enquire more closely how they mirror totemic factors at work in their institutional setting.

Perhaps it may help to analyse the expectations which students had when they first came to University and see whether they fit in with this 'image building'. We shall examine also the truth of Wilson's argument that : "Students often arrive at University with two distinct and contradictory, indeed unrelated, sets of assumptions. In the first place they expect an elevated intellectual atmosphere and look forward to a mysterious experience which will result in intellectual transformation: they expect to emerge with new power. They are vague about how such transformation will be accomplished and temperamentally ill disposed to the idea of its imperceptible gradualness. They have the idea of what might be entailed in the process, but there is a vague hope of increased articulateness and heightened understanding".[1]

In interviews students of all three Universities referred as much to the city in which each University is set as to the University itself and the actual working of the student body. Edinburgh and Durham students seemed to think that on the whole the two cities had lived up to expectations, although naturally they were not without criticisms. Southern students coming to Newcastle seemed to have almost nightmarish visions of what they were coming to - not only dirty and ugly, but barbaric and lacking in culture. It often seemed that a city's 'cultural' life was assumed to be inversely proportionate to its distance in road miles from London. Many of these students admitted their early fears almost shamefacedly and agreed that they had radically changed their views. One student waxed lyrical in his praises. He was glad, he said, to have escaped from the "flaccid pig's belly of the South" to the "sinewy tough North" that while it (life) was harder there "the city was withall virile and bounding with energy". There

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1. Wilson, op. cit., p. 8.

are people who would agree with his description, while not ignoring the smoke and industry which provide the energy.

In all three Universities there was a sizeable proportion of students who had come up with a picture of dreaming spires firmly implanted in their brain, and were thus disappointed - Wilson would say 'disenchanted'[1] - when they did not have intellectual discussions far into the night over mugs of coffee with brilliant and witty companions who compared in eloquence to Shelley or Keats. Said one student: "I came up expecting to feel dull in comparison with all these brilliant brains, but in fact I have found that nearly everyone is as thick as I am". The highest proportion of those who did find this kind of stimulation seemed to be in Halls of Residence, where naturally both conversation and companions are easier to find and sustain and one's choice of both is less limited than in dispiriting 'digs'. However, since out of 100 Newcastle interviewees for instance about sixty mentioned the same kind of expectation and disappointment, one wonders whether they did not make enough effort to find the components which make up the desired situation, or whether in fact the institutional arrangement put barriers in their path of search for "an academic and intellectual excitement which they did not find"[2].

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1. ibid.

2. Marris, op. cit., p. 32.

Table 19 (Please see Appendix Table 25)

Newcastle Students

Expectations of and reactions to University life

(a) Those who think University life is as they expected:

	U. M. C. %		L. M. C. %		W. C. %		Unclass %		Total %	
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.
Yes	69	72	53	41	41	46	62	80	55	
No	28	26	44	56	57	52	38	20	42	
Don't Know	3	2	3	3	2	3	--	--	3	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629	

(b) Reactions to University life of those who did not find it as they expected:

Favourable	57	55	73	72	71	47	88	100	68	
Unfavour.	17	20	20	12	14	24	12	---	17	
Neutral	26	25	7	16	15	29	--	---	15	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629	

This table shows results of answers from the Newcastle sample put to students only in the Newcastle and Durham survey. As many as 55 per cent of students said that they feel they had a reasonable idea of what University would be like before they came. Ignorance of what to expect was most prevalent among upper middle class students, both male and female. About 70 per cent

of these students did not know what to expect - and since we may assume that sources of information were more readily available to them than to other students we may link this finding to that on the dreaming spires image just discussed. We may assume that for these students especially the image of Newcastle is not in accord with their expectations. In fact, in the light of what middle class students said it is possible to assume that much information about Universities is given out at public schools - also grammar schools - by teachers who were themselves at Oxbridge, and whose memories in time have mellowed into only the most inspiring reminiscences.[1] It is very easy to imbue all Universities with the same unreal atmosphere of ancient cloisters - so rudely shattered in the bustle of an industrial town. By contrast northern working class students felt that they knew what to expect, particularly because the University was not unreal and separate from daily existence.

However, although so many upper middle class students did not know what to expect, as has been shown through discussion of interview material, the reactions of a large proportion of them to what they found was favourable. Only a small proportion (17 per cent male and 20 per cent female students) had "unfavourable" reactions - although these are sizeable enough proportions to be very significant in the light of the traditional and proper student loyalty which prompts the student to claim his own University as the 'best' once he has got there. A large proportion of students have 'neutral' reactions towards the University - 26 per cent male upper middle class, 25 per cent female upper middle class and 29 per cent the a-typical female working class. This would seem to bode ill for participation in student affairs - a point to be discussed in the next chapter. It is a great pity that these questions were not put also in the Edinburgh survey.

1. ibid., p. 32 : "In the middle aged after-glow, all Universities have rivers and punts, and pretty girls decorating the worn plush cushions with the crisp folds of their summer frocks".

However, it is useful to compare the Durham distribution on these questions.

Table 20 (Please see Appendix, Table 26)

Durham students expectations of and reactions to University life

(a) Those who think college life is as they expected:

	U. M. C. %	L. M. C.%	W. C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	59	60	46	46	56
No	39	40	52	54	43
Don't Know	2	--	2	--	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

(b) Reactions to college life of those who did not find it as they expected:

Favourable	64	63	58	86	63
Unfavourable	15	18	18	--	17
Neutral	21	14	25	14	18
Don't Know	--	5	--	--	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	101	161	77	13	352

Students were asked about expectations, specifically of college life, and since all students are connected to colleges, the figures are directly comparable to those on Newcastle. There is an almost identical distribution of students who had some idea of what it would be like before they came - an overall proportion of 42 per cent had no idea. Individual social class proportions showed an increasing lack of previous expectation down the social scale - a reversal of the Newcastle situation, and again understandable in the light of institutional setting and organisation. Again, in contrast to Newcastle, there is a higher proportion of "neutral" reactions and a lower proportion of "favourable" reactions in the working class sample than in either

middle class. Explicitly unfavourable reactions are almost equally represented in each social class - and the overall proportion, 17 per cent, is identical with that in Newcastle. The upper middle class would appear to have on the whole more favourable reactions to the collegiate situation than the working class students. Indeed, it has been observed that the collegiate system by its very pressure to conformity tends to alienate working class students with obvious class marks because they cannot easily be assimilated into the mainly middle class student body. However, a different light is thrown on this issue in Appendix Table 27 where the replies are analysed in terms of both sex and type of residence within University.

Here it is found that those living in college are on the whole most satisfied - male students more than female students. Female students living in 'digs' emerge as the most dissatisfied section of the student body - only 38 per cent have favourable reactions to collegiate life. It must be remembered that these are reactions to collegiate life as they see it, i.e., mainly as an institutional fiction. Why female students more than male students living in digs should be so dissatisfied is not quite clear - nor why a higher proportion of female students living in college than male students are dissatisfied with what they find of college life. This is yet another case among so many others considered in which sex differentials are as important or more important a social and cultural factor as social class differentials. They demand further research, not possible in this survey, but certainly contribute to an understanding of certain features of the structure and organisation of the student body.

So many /

So many of such 'divisions' have relevance within the student body that it begins to be necessary to ask under what conditions the 'student body' can ever be or is believed to be by students a discrete entity, or a real community with its own generic collective representations. We have seen how reactions and future social behaviour are often guided by perception of the 'institutional image' and that in a sense this is a cohesive factor in that it is a perception in which all participate and contribute. How far this engenders community sentiment and culture among students will be examined in later chapters. The kind of community envisaged is physically impossible after a certain size, as students realise, although their conception of the 'threshold' limit varies from University to University - as we shall see in the discussion of attitudes to expansion in Chapter XIV, and of student opinions on optimum sizes for colleges or Universities.

Such fragmentation of the student body as exists in terms of cultural groupings reveals that patterning of attitudes and values along social class lines is made more complex and less clearly defined by the influence of additional variables - such as 'school' or 'geographical region of home residence'. In some ways these variables are intimately connected with social class and must be accounted for even if they cannot be isolated - so that what is often observed is a 'cluster' of variables of different weightings in importance. The fact that social class divisions do not always emerge sharply defined has in no way shown that they may be discounted.

One may relate the findings of the last chapter to this argument - for we have already seen how 'first generation students' form a social category under certain conditions which may 'blur' existing social class categories. Where these conditions do not obtain social class divisions persist.

Yet one must not forget that despite these distributions and divisions total institutional 'images' exist and are perpetuated and students are enculturated into them from the first. 'Freshers Conferences bear witness to the 'initiation' rites that new students go through, and what they learn at this stage is crucial for the future organisation of the whole student body and for the cohesion of the different sub-groups which it comprises.

We therefore turn in the next chapter to an analysis of the ways in which social class patterns emerge within the total structure and organisation of the student body - at the level of membership and leadership of student societies. We shall thus be examining the ways in which social class identity is expressed in formal relationships in the student body, in both compulsory and voluntary groups (i.e., student government and 'interest' associations).

In Chapter VII we shall carry the analysis into the sphere of informal social relations - in an attempt to discover what part is played by social class in the students' daily social interactions.

CHAPTER VI

Social class as a factor in participation in and leadership of student organisations.

It is not easy to measure in any sophisticated way the degree of participation which students have within the student body, nor the extent to which they take over the running of student affairs. Although one may take as a measure the number of student societies joined - this may indicate nothing beyond nominal membership, and positions of 'leadership' carry with them very differing amounts of power and authority. Thus one is to some extent moulding into a statistical model what cannot in all senses be expressed in this way. This is where participant observation and formal and informal interviews play their part in revealing the qualitative aspects of participation. Since we have already observed that the student body as such exhibits certain social class distributions we may expect to find these running through both formal and informal student organisations - so that one is concerned also with intergroup relationships at each level and with assimilation of minority groups into the prevailing student mores - in this case, one would assume this involves the bourgeoisification of the working class.

In this situation one asks how the members of the different social classes interact in the student body (a) in terms of formal student organisation, (b) in terms of informal relationships and friendships. We shall be concerned with the first part in this chapter - as phenomena of cultural patterning in group participation and leadership. Only

later shall we discuss the implications for students perception of one another as students, or as members of social classes, in the situations and organisations described. Thus our study of participation and assimilation will not be complete until we have studied the intergroup relations which operate within defined situations. Just how students define these situations will be discussed in Chapter VII and Chapter VIII - which will attempt to summarise the basic principles of inter-student and intergroup relationships which have emerged from the findings.

Although as has been pointed out the study of participation in student socieites is not entirely satisfactory as an analysis either of (a) student participation or (b) of student groups, it has certain advantages, when used in conjunction with other qualitative methods. Firstly, it is capable of direct measurement in that one can analyse 'participation' in terms of numbers of societies of which the students are members or leaders - so that one can almost construct a scale of participation.

Secondly, since student societies are normally centres of student social activity and are voluntary associational groups based on interest - they are good means of testing to some extent a student's willingness to co-operate, i.e., involving the effort of joining. Where numerical membership of societies does not coincide with actual observed support of those societies this in itself is meaningful. One may also observe in

this way the difference between the formal and informal organisation and find out who are <u>not</u> members of societies and why.

Leadership of student organisations may be analysed in terms of what is already known of the formal structure - so that undue weight is not given to positions which hold no responsibility.

The indications of what exactly to look for were found in the Edinburgh survey which was least structured to allow the unplanned responses to occur. For this reason there is more qualitative than quantiative data available on the Edinburgh sample - thos omission was rectified in the two succeeding surveys when the author knew more clearly what to look for.

First we shall examine the membership of student societies in the three Universities in terms of social class distributions. Table 21 (Appendix Table 28) shows these results.

<u>Table 21</u> Membership of Student Societies (by social class and nationality

(a) <u>EDINBURGH</u>:

	UC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Total
Yes	100	89	88	56	72	100	88	54	100	100	81
No	-	11	12	44	28	-	12	46	-	-	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	2	66	51	9	82	50	8	39	8	1	316

(b) <u>DURHAM</u>:

(i)

	U.M.C.		L.M.C.		Wk. Cl.		Uncl.		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Yes	94	97	99	98	94	100	91	100	97
No	6	3	1	2	6	-	9	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	72	29	106	55	63	14	11	2	352

Table 21 (Cont.)

(b) DURHAM:

(ii) Exclusively University or College Societies

	U.M.C.		L.M.C.		Wk. Cl.		Uncl.		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Exclus. Univ.	75	94	79	90	74	81	70	88	81
Exclus. Coll.	25	6	21	10	26	19	30	12	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	72	29	106	55	63	14	11	2	352

(c) NEWCASTLE:

	U.M.C.	L.M.C.	Wk.Cl.	Total
Yes	94	96	89	94
No	6	4	11	6
Total	100	100	100	100
No.	199	280	124	603

In the case of Durham, the picture is complicated by the existence of exclusively college and exclusively University societies. These have been analysed together and separately in order to ascertain the general overall picture of society membership, and then the breakdown in terms of college and University attachment.

In the Edinburgh sample the figures have been broken down into 'nationality' samples. The configurations for overseas Scottish and English students are all different. In the Overseas sample the tendency is for those in the higher social classes to be less frequently members of societies, i.e., the percentage decreases up the social scale.

In the Scottish sample the pattern is reversed so that there is a gradient of membership up from the working class to the upper class. In the Scottish sample the most striking result is that only 54 per cent of Scottish working class students are or have been members of one or more student societies - which is not by any means a rigorous qualification. This points to a lack of 'joining in' student affairs, observable in practice, which may be associated with cultural factors of social class. As we shall see later other factors exacerbate the social distance of this group from the predominantly middle class student body - although as we have seen in Chapter IV this sample differs in various respects from the a-typical English working class in Edinburgh. Some scottish students blamed their school system for their reticence in joining in student societies. A Scottish female working class student, speaking of her own experience and that of her friends, said:- "I think that the Scottish students should be left more on their own in the sixth form as in England. The English gain confidence in their abilities in their final year at school - and perhaps this is why they are more eager to participate in student activities than are the Scottish. I think Scottish schools have a negative attitude to their pupils since they give them no responsibility in work or activities. I think this makes the Scottish students very retiring at first, and sets them back initially. I had no confidence and was very unhappy at first, but I am beginning to get over it. If you make an effort to meet people you find there are a lot of people in the same boat who are willing to be friendly".

This student was in her second term at University, and lived at home about 30 miles away. She found having to worry about catching

trains a hindrance to participation in student activities. From what one gathers, her type of case is fairly common among the Scottish students - particularly working class.

The Scottish lower middle class figures of 72 per cent is also lower than the lower middle class figure of either Overseas or English so one may imagine that the arguments put forward may apply to them too.

Some of the upper middle class English students tended to exaggerate the situation, and after extolling the virtues of the 'prefectorial system in the English public school' - said rather sweepingly:- "The Scots are v ery young and behave as if they are still at school". Those who would make so broad a generalisation are few, but it does seem as if some of the differences in attitude between the Scots and the English are the direct results of different school systems.[1] This will be discussed later,

The English sample has an overall high rate of society membership - the working class and lower middle class all being members of societies. The proportion of the upper middle class members in both Scottish and English sample is roughly being 88 per cent English upper midd le class and 89 per cent Scottish upper middle class.

The number in each social class group who are members of societies as a percentage of the total membership shows that there is no numerical basis for thinking as so many of the students did that there is a preponderance of English in the societies. Yet students acted in the belief that there was such a preponderence. This is a perceptual problem -

1. For differences in age distribution of English and Scottish sample see Appendix Table 1.

discussed in the summary of Part II in Chapter VIII.

The Newcastle distributions show that there is a higher overall proportion of membership 94 per cent than among the English sample, 81 per cent - but this is largely because the Newcastle working class students take a much more active part in student affairs than do the Edinburgh Scottish working class students. Eighty-nine per cent of the Newcastle working class students are members of societies - but this is nevertheless a small proportion than in the middle classes. It would seem that there is less of a 'cultural gap' separating the working class in Newcastle than in Edinburgh from participating in the student body. Or rather as we shall see in Part III there are fewer factors making for resistance to participation and the accentuating of existing cultural differences. Table 22 (Appendix Table 29) shows the proportion of membership of different types of societies as correlated with social class.

Table 22 Types of student societies of which Newcastle students were members

(a) Upper Middle Class students

	Deptal.	Social	Relig.	Sports	Political	Other
None	21	56	86	42	91	80
1 Soc.	68	31	14	39	9	19
2 Socs.	10	11	0.5	14	0.5	1
3 Socs.	1	2	-	4	-	-
4+ Socs.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	100	100	100.5	100	100.5	100
No.	199	199	199	199	199	199

Table 22 (Cont.)

(b) Lower Middle Class Students

	Dental.	Social	Relig.	Sports	Political	Other
None	20	64	80	36	92	79
1 Soc.	65	26	19	42.5	8	19
2 Socs.	14	8	1	14	-	2
3 Socs.	1	2	-	5	-	-
4+ Socs.	-	-	-	2.5	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	280	280	280	280	280	280

(c) Working Class Students

None	32	64	71	48	90	83
1 Soc.	54	23	28	40	7	15
2 Socs.	13	13	1	8	1	2
3 Socs.	1	1	-	2	1	2
4+ Socs.	-	-	-	2	1	-
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100
No.	124	124	124	124	124	124

It emerges that the overall proportions of students who are members of one, two or so on societies varies little between social classes - but the pattern in terms of types of society does vary with social class - again identifying certain cultural differences. Members of the working class were members of fewer departmental and sports societies than either middle class. Thirty two percent working class students were not members of any departmental societies, and forty eight per cent were not members of any sports societies. This latter figure could relate in some respects to school training. The upper middle class students were

Table 23 Types of student societies of which Durham students were members

(a) Upper Middle Class students

	Deptal.	Social	Relig.	Sport	Political	Other
None	24	20	57	35	77	85
1 Soc.	55	42	38	37	18	13
2 Socs.	20	28	5	17	5	1
3 Socs.	-	6	-	8	-	-
4+ Socs.	1	5	-	4	-	1
Total	100	101	100	101	100	100
No.	101	101	101	101	101	101

(b) Lower Midd le Class students

None	17	30	60	44	81	85
1 Soc.	61	32	33	34	15	12
2 Socs.	19	22	6	12	3	3
3 Socs.	1	12	1	7	1	-
4+ Socs.	2	4	-	3	1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	101	100
No.	161	161	161	161	161	161

(c) Working Class Students

None	22	45	68	40	84	92
1 Soc.	64	34	26	31	9	8
2 Socs.	12	17	6	17	4	-
3 Socs.	2	3	-	7	1	-
4+ Socs.	-	1	-	5	1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	99	100
No.	77	77	77	77	77	77

Upper middle class students were members of more or cultural societies than lower middle class or working class students - although more markedly than in Newcastle and there is a class differential which increases down

the scale. Only 20 per cent of upper middle class students were not members of any social societies - compared with 30 per cent lower middle class and 45 per cent working class. One may speculate that this again indicates, as in the Edinburgh survey, a working class reticence in joining in - a feeling of social disadvantage which persists in the University environment. By contrast with Newcastle distributions, the working class had lowest membership of both religious and political associations, although both proportions of membership were higher than in Newcastle, (68 per cent were not members of any religious societies, 84 per cent of any political societies). The author speculates that the former figure may reflect the tendency of the working class student in Durham to equate religion with middle classness i.e., the Cathedral and Anglican high churches - which represent the totemic aspects already discussed. The Labour Club in Durham has been described by Durham students as the "home of upper middle class do-gooders who have no personal knowledge of the working class" - this being so it does not seem surprising that the working class themselves have comparative lack of enthusiasm for political organisations - particularly as the Conservative club was said to be composed mainly of upper middle class students who saw no reason for "doing good to the poor". The upper middle class were more often members of sports societies than lower middle class or working class. Three per cent of those who were members of sports societies were members of five societies - which it must be admitted would be rather time consuming.

Sports societies were often quoted by middle class students as

examples of how social classes could come together and co-operate and forget any previous barriers. Although the high membership rate of sports societies in every social class would seem to point to students hoping this to be true - working class students sometimes expressed disappointment that co-operation and cameraderie die not always continue off the hockey field or tennis court. Perhaps to some extent this was due to their own lack of social initiative. One does not know. Certainly, in many cases, sport had provided an interest and bond which crossed all barriers - class, nationality, faculty school and so on, and had been the springboard for further social intercourse.

Different cultural patterns emerge in the analysis of positions of leadership in the student body. In the Edinburgh Table 24 (Appendix Table 31) we again have 'national' distributions.

Table 24 Edinburgh students who had held one or more positions of authority in student societies (by social class and nationality)

	UC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWk.Cl	EWk.Cl.	OWk.Cl.	Total
Yes	50	37	22	40	22	26	14	19	25	-	26
No	50	63	78	60	78	74	86	81	75	100	74
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	2	59	45	5	59	50	7	21	8	1	257

In the Overseas sample we see that although only a small percentage (56 per cent) of upper middle class students join societies, 40 per cent of them take on positions of responsibility in those societies. This may be explained by the increasing proliferation of 'national' based social

societies, such as the Nigerian Union or Pakistani Students' Association. It is possible that these are the type of society of which the Overseas students become leaders for it is not often that they become leaders of the predominantly British social or academic societies. However, this group is very active and does have representatives on the S.R.C. and Union committee and so on - and has the highest proportion of 'leaders' among it - excluding the Scottish upper middle class, which is not significant, being based on only two examples. The Overseas lower middle class provides the smallest proportion of 'leaders'.

The increase in 'leadership' with each 'higher' social class is also seen in the Scottish sample. The Scottish upper midd le class provides numerically the largest proportion of student leaders. It seems highly probable on evidence available that these are the anglicised Scots of Public School education and English accent who often cannot be distinguished by working class students from the English themselves. The percentage of Scottish upper middle class - 37 per cent - who are leaders is far greater than the 22 per cent of the English upper middle class. Perhaps these are the "dammed English who are running all the societies" that one so often hears criticised by Scots in Edinburgh. This springs from faulty perception of characteristics of 'the others'.

There is hardly any difference between the proportion of working class and lower middle class Scots members of societies who become leaders - 19 per cent; 22 per cent - showing perhaps that of those from both classes who are motivated to join societies there is little difference between their willingness or ability to take on positions of responsibility,

i.e., once the Scottish working class overcome their initial disinclination to join societies they prove to be no less able and popular than the lower middle class. The same situation is mirrored in the English sample, except that both working class and lower middle class have a higher proportion of leaders than the Scottish sample, and both English working class and lower middle class have a higher proportion than the English upper middle class. This may result partially as a result of the fact that so many Scottish upper middle class are leaders of societies - and in fact represent 32 per cent of all student leaders - and partly because being older or exhibiting more in-group tendencies they tend not to participate in student activities as much as the Scots. It is impossible to do more than speculate.

The most interesting case is that of the English working class - 25 per cent of whom are leaders. We have already seen how in various ways this group is anomalous as a working class group. These figures on society leadership although too small to draw very broad conclusions seem to confirm this finding. Holding a position in a student society or organisation indicates not only intention and motivation, but also a degree of acceptance by fellow students. The fact that the English working class group has a slightly higher proportion of leaders than the English upper middle class group seems to be a signal indication that members of this group have been completely accepted by middle class students, perhaps so much so that in reality they are no longer to be considered as working class students - as the working class female students in Durham (and Newcastle). A remark of an English working class student in Edinburgh illuminates this; "The working class student can 'get on' in University if he has a character

which is more sociable than most, without distinctive class marks"., i.e., if he is not perceived to be working class. These features of 'assimilation' and the significance of class marks are discussed in the next chapter - although naturally they underlie most of the discussions in this chapter, and will underline their significance.

It would seem to be true also that the Edinburgh working class are highly motivated to become accepted by the middle class. Such motivation and the factors which would appear to give rise to it will also be discussed.

Table 25 Newcastle students who had held one or more positions of authority in student societies.

	U.M.C.	L.M.C.	Wk. Cl.	Total
Yes	24	24	15	22
No	76	76	85	78
Total	100	100	100	100
No.	199	280	124	603

In Newcastle University only 22 per cent of those who are members of societies actually take responsibility in them - which is a low overall total for a University of this size. The author observed, and it was often remarked, that most of the societies which flourish are basically non-participating societies, such as Film Society - where entertainment or lectures are provided, and students need make no effort as members besides attending the meeting. Indeed there seems a general antipathy to 'organising' of any sort, and it seemed that, if anything, the S.R.C. and

Union Committee were more remote and subject to student criticism than in the other two Universities. It is acknowledged that a handful of students forming a somewhat closed stratum 'run things' and the others stand back and let them get on with it.

Both the middle classes provide the same proportion of leaders, 24 per cent, and the working class a significantly smaller proportion of 15 per cent - this despite some similar patterms of membership. Numerically the working class provides only 14 per cent of all student leaders - which would seem in general to point to cultural differences in leadership.

Table 26 (Appendix Table 33) Durham students who had held one or more positions of authority in student societies

	U.M.C. M.	U.M.C. F.	L.M.C. M.	L.M.C. F.	Wk.Cl. M.	Wk.Cl. F.	Total
Yes	49	52	46	47	48	29	47
No	51	48	54	53	52	71	53
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	72	29	106	55	63	14	339

In Durham as many as 47 per cent of all students hold or have held a p osition of responsibility in either College or University. Thus by contrast, a far larger proportion of people have a hand in the running of affairs and it would seem that there is a greater circulation of 'jobs' of responsibility in the student body. Obviously in Durham there are special factors contributing to this state of affairs - firstly the very size of the University and the complexity of its organisation means that if certain tasks are to be carried out a higher proportion of students must

assist in organising student affairs. The fact that there is some duplication of activity at College and University level means in some cases double the number of responsible positions. That certain people fill more than one position is true and indeed students in Durham sometimes complained that power was contained in too few hands. It may have seemed to be few in number - but in proportion it far exceeds that of the larger University. In other words, more people have the opportunity of being elected for position of authority and responsibility and through the collegiate system are brought more into contact with the many possibilities presented.

The class distribution of leadership is interesting in that the only two groups which show any signs of class differentials are female upper middle class and female working class. The female upper middle class provides a higher proportion of leaders and the female working class a much lower proportion of leaders than the other social classes, male and female. Apart from these two samples, social class factors seem not to matter much in Durham in the selection of leaders.

The case of the female working class is an odd one since, as we have seen, this group had 100 per cent membership of societies - indicative of a group seeking integration. Perhaps it is a sign of failure to be assimilated completely rather than lack of motivation, which results in only 29 per cent - low by Durham standards - becoming leaders of societies. This point cannot be answered, but is worthy of more research.

The types of positions held in the student body were arranged into a broad scale of prestige observed by the author to be accepted by the student body concerned. Distributions proved this scale to have been in

accord with statistical evidence. In Newcastle the scale goes from President of Union or S.R.C.; Member Committee S.R.C. (representing student 'government'); President University Society or Hall of Residence, Committee University Society to Committee Hall of Residence (representing largely organisation of 'interest' groups). In Durham there is a slight difference in order indicative of certain features of organisation. The position of Senior man or woman of a college for instance carries more authority and prestige than the Presidency of the S.R.C. or University Union Society. Presidencies of University societies have similar prestige, and then comes Presidency of College Society, other positions in University societies, and other positions in College groups. It is significant that the position of President of S.R.C. or Union carries less weight than in Edinburgh or Newcastle, and indeed the organisation of these bodies is far less bureaucratic and structured and is split by internal factions including 'right' and 'left' wings.

Table 27 (Appendix Table 34) Types of positions held by Newcastle students

(a) Upper middle class students:

	President Union/SRC	Committee Union/SRC	President Univ.Soc. or Hall of Residence	Committee University Society	Committee Hall of Residence	Total
1 position	-	83	61	83	71	76
2 positions	-	17	31	14	29	20
3+ positions	-	-	8	3	-	4
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100
No.	0	6	13	29	7	55

Table 27 (Cont.)

(b) Lower middle class students:	President Union/SRC	Committee Union/SRC	President Univ.Soc. or Hall of Residence	Committee University Society	Committee Hall of Residence	Total
1 position	-	94	91	82	92	87
2 positions	-	6	9	16	8	12
3+ p ositions	-	-	-	2	-	1
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100
No.	0	16	11	45	12	84
(c) Working class students:						
1 position	-	75	100	75	100	79
2 positions	100	25	-	25	-	21
3+ positions	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	1	4	6	12	1	24

In Newcastle, in terms of actual number of positions held, the lower middle class holds more positions of leadership than either of the other two social classes - however, this means little in that as has been explained, there is a different 'weight' attached to these positions by students. When one analyses in terms of this weighting the first thing which emerges is that the only student in the Newcastle surbey who had held the positions of President or Vice President of the S.R.C. or University Union (two positions) was of working class origins, He was obviously a highly integrated young man and atypical of the working class as s whole. In the Durham survey 2 per cent of all working class students who were student leaders were or had been a senior member of a College. However, the Durham

results differ in that 3 per cent lower middle class were also Senior men or women. Again, no upper middle class student had held this position. This is in direct contrast to the kind of patterning which obtains in Edinburgh - in which student 'government' is largely the province of middle class students.

In Newcastle, although fewer working class than middle class students were leaders of societies, of those that were, a proportion held a position of great authority in the student body, yet comparatively few compared with the middle classes held more than one position.

Fewer working class than middle class students held positions in Hall - basically because, as we shall see, a smaller proportion of them have places in Hall. Upper middle class students hold most of the positions of authority in Hall.

Upper middle class students are more often leaders of more societies than other groups - they seem to hold a monopoly of power in certain circles - whereas working class students tend to hold one position - particularly as Presidents of University 'interest' societies which do not necessarily involve participation in the 'ruling stratum' of student government. One may conclude from the figures that upper middle class students tend to dominate student societies and interest groups - representing perhaps specifically middle class interests - while working class students tend to hold more positions per person on Union and S.R.C. committees, and committees of 'interest' societies which are run predominantly by middle class students. It would appear that key positions in 'interest' societies

held by middle class students are concentrated in fewer hands, than found in the working class. For example 31% of upper middle class students held two positions as presidents of University societies - while 8% held three or more positions. On the other hand it would appear that of the highly motivated working class students a significant proportion do take an active part in student government and as leaders of student organisation may be assumed to have been 'assimilated'.

Table 28
(Appendix Table 35) Types of positions held by Durham students

	Senior Student	President S.R.C. Union or Univ. Soc.	President College Society	Other position Univ.	Other position College	Total
(a) Upper middle class students:						
1 position	-	89	67	72	64	70
2 positions	-	11	20	17	29	21
3+ positions	-	-	13	10	7	9
Total	-	100	100	99	100	100
No.	0	9	15	29	28	81
(b) Lower middle class students:						
1 position	100	94	90	79	70	81
2 positions	-	6	10	15	23	15
3+ positions	-	-	-	6	7	4
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100
No.	3	17	19	34	40	113
(c) Working class students:						
1 position	100	86	75	55	87	72
2 positions	-	14	25	25	13	20
3+ positions	-	-	-	20	-	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	1	7	8	20	15	51

These assumptions are borne out to some extent by the Durham results which show lower middle class students predominating as senior men and women - while the upper middle class holds predominantly Presidents of College Societies and 'other' positions in College and University. They hold more positions per person by these carry less 'weight' in the student body in terms of spheres of influence.[1] It would seem that the lower middle class on the whole wield most 'power' in Durham student organisations in terms of numbers of most responsible posts held per person. Although a minority of working class hold the highest executive positions of the student body, most of them hold one or two 'committee' positions - particularly in University rather than college societies. As has been seen, it is often the College organisations, Junior Common Rooms and so on that are recognised by 'the authorities' as proper channels of communications to the students - and these are those in which the working class does not predominate.

When the author was in Durham various debates flared up in the S.R.C. about the waning powers of the S.R.C. as a negotiating body with Senate and administration. Time and time again the S.R.C. felt that it was sidestepped in discussion of policy iss ued by the authorities, who conducted discussions directly through the Senior men and women and the Junior Common Rooms. The informal committee of Senior students held by the Registrar mentioned in Chapter II was a case in point which raised much antagonism. Thus voices were loudly raised over these issued and petitions

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1. See Miller op. cit., for comparison of features of Edinburg h student government.

made to the highest authorities which only succeeded in increasing the general wariness and hesitancy with which these authorities dealt with the S.R.C. I have hear the S.R.C. described by certain university authorities as 'rabble rousers'. The "rowdy elements of the Colleges. They are the non-college minded members that the colleges get rid of".[1]

To be non-college minded in Durham is to be regarded as a most undesirable element, threatening the basis of the University organisation. Therefore this was a very strong criticism indeed. And it is interesting to note that 'rowdy' and 'non-college minded' are terms denoting a real offence - it is a virtue in itself to be quiet and accept the system.

It may not be entirely co-incidental then that it is the working class who tend to hold positions in the S.R.C. and other University positions - the middle class who run the affairs of the colleges. One result is that the 'difference' between the two 'types' is marked by external characteristics, such as the difference in accents of these groups. More thick Northern even accentuated accents are in evidence among members of S.R.C. than among senior men and women and there are differences in dress and manner. These groups also represent to some extent the 'right' and 'left' elements. The working class Senior students may be regarded as a second, separate category of working class students regarded as middle class by both staff and students. The author has hear a lower middle class Senior man being criticised by some working class friends for being too conciliatory to the S.R.C. and "for joining the establishment", since becoming senior man. Those who do not

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1. Personal communication.

conform entirely to the accepted norms on being elected are transformed during their term of office. This may cause unrest 'in the ranks' among those who voted for someone they thought progressive, even revolutionary.

For in Durham as the class composition changes - but not necessarily as a result of it - there is a growing body of students with built-in resistance to 'tradition' of any sort. This is becoming as increasing problem for University and College authorities when students object to wearing gowns, coming to formals/ meals, observing rules of being in college before a certain hour and so on. This kind of change in the Durham scene will be discussed in Chapter 14, along with effects of expension on institutional organisation. However it is useful to consider here whether these changes may have something to do with social class, which is not recognised for what it is and is therefore not planned for.

It would seem then that social class differences play their part in the running of student affairs and in the organisation of the student body - and students have shown that they realise this. One often hears of certain societies being run by a 'certain set' of 'public school people' dominating certain organisations - so that dominance of social class groups is recognised even if it is not explicitly referred to in terms of socie/economic social class.

In Edinburgh, which the author knows best, there was better opportunity to see whether students consciously take social class into consideration in the running of student organisations and in the election of officials. It appeared that more often than not what appeared to be bias in <u>selection</u> of leaders, was rather a bias in the proportion of any social class putting

themselves forward for election in certain organisations. Thus it would appear that the S.R.C. for instance in Edinburgh is a mainly middle class, if not upper middle class body, sometimes used as a debating ground for future members of parliament; and the University Union too in some ways embodies the atmosphere is a 'gentleman's club' of a bygone era.

The author included questions on the influence of social class in elections of leaders of the student body on the Edinburgh questionnaire and the results are shown in Table 29 (Appendix Table 36). Students were asked if they themselves were influenced by considerations of social class and if they considered others were.

Table 29

(a) Those who thought they were influences in student elections by social class

	UC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Uncl.	Total
Yes	-	8	6	11	9	4	-	5	-	-	17	7
No	-	70	68	78	71	86	63	64	88	100	83	72
Possibly Unconsciously	100	18	20	-	13	8	25	18	12	-	-	15
D.K.	-	4	4	11	7	2	12	10	-	-	-	6
Unanswered	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.6

(b) Those who thought others were influenced in student elections by social class

Yes	-	15	10	11	13	16	-	15	38	100	17	14
No	-	33	37	11	41	44	63	26	38	-	33	37
Possible Unconsciously	100	47	47	45	37	26	25	51	25	-	50	41
D.K.	-	-	-	11	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	5
Unanswered	-	5	4	11	6	2	12	5	-	-	-	1.5
Depends on Organ.	-	-	2	11	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	0.3
'All 3'	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100	100.8
No.	2	66	51	9	82	50	8	39	8	1	6	322

Only seven per cent said that they are consciously influenced by social class and family background although fifteen per cent think they may be affected unconsciously. Together, these figures represent a significant proportion and perhaps greater than one would expect. The Edinburgh working class was least affected by these considerations and 88 per cent said they were not influenced. The English lower middle class also had a high proportion - 86 per cent said they were not influenced. However, only 38 per cent (Edinburgh working class) and 44 per cent (lower middle class) thought that others were unaffected by these considerations. This seems to imply that these two groups feel that their social class puts them at a disadvantage.

There is indeed an overall change from Table 29 (a) to 29 (b). Only seven per cent consider they themselves are influenced by social class, but fourteen per cent consider that others are. The 'possibly unconsciously' rather more 'Charitable' designation nearly trebles from 15 per cent to 41 per cent. If we add the first and third lines together we find that 22 per cent admitted that they themselves are affected by social class considerations consciously or unconsciously, while 55 per cent think that others are so affected. This would seem to be an interesting case of students admitting that in some cases social class is taken into consideration, while putting the onus for this onto someone else. It seems clear at least that social class is <u>seen</u> to be a real factor in student organisation at the formal level - although it is not always clear in which way social class operates - either for or against. This would need to be studied further - but there are indications of <u>why</u> social class is sometimes taken

into account in the findings of the next chapter showing the factors influencing formation of informal student groups - i.e. the influence of social class on students interaction with and perception of each other as members of the student body.

No distinct pattern emerges from the figures on society elections either in a compatison of social classes or Overseas, English and Scottish groups which seems to show that more personal factors influence the attitudes of students in this matter. If we turn to Appendix Table 37 which shows how many of the students who thought that considerations of social class background influences students in elections were actually themselves leaders of societies more light is thrown on this argument. The overall figures on society membership show that a small proportion of these students were members of societies than the proportion of the total sample, 76 per cent as opp osed to 81 per cent, which seems to show that some of these people were merely hazarding a guess on incomplete knowledge. Of course, one cannot discount the fact that belief that this was so may have deterred them from joining societies.

The figure for leadership is also smaller than that of the total membership sample, 21 per cent compared with 26 per cent, intimating perhaps a number of disappointed candidates. This seems to be expecially true of the upper midd le class and working class. The lower middle class seems to have a more solid foundation for their views - a high proportion being both members and leaders in societies.

The overall impression that one obtains from the figures duscussed and from actual experience of student organisations is that few students are

consciously influenced by considerations of social class when electing fellow students to positions of responsibility. There may however by in certain groups an unconscious preference for leaders from a certain social class. This depends largely upon the aims and activities of the society, as many students pointed out. It would also be true to say that any student who is obviously 'different' from the majority of society members would have difficulties in being fully accepted by the group. His 'differentness' would be determined by the way in which the attributes of membership were defined by the group. Those who do not exhibit 'differentness' in the terms defined by the group, are then chosen in terms of personality and ability - the factors of social class do not come into play beyond a certain point because the overriding social class ethos has been internalized.

Thus it would seem to be true that social class acts as a factor - although there are obviously others such as sex, regional culture and ability and personality - in the organisation of the student body and thus in the formal relationship which students as members of social classes have with one another. For their participation and leadership in student government or interest societies prescribes the social 'areas' in which they will interact.

The importance of this factor depends on the way the situation is defined by students and what for them seem to be the attributes relevant and necessary in the playing of the particular roles involved. Thus in certain situations certain factors come into play at the expense of the other factors. These situations are to some extent circumscribed by the formal organisation as it is perceived by the people in it. The next chapter will be concerned

to discuss whether similar factors appear to have relevance in informal organisation and situations, and if similar patterns emerge.

CHAPTER VII

Social Class as a factor in informal social relations

Previous chapters have been concerned to show how social classes within the student body may be distinguished in terms of patterns of cultural norms of attitudes and behaviour, i.e., that social classes as cultural collectivities persist within the institutional framework. There has been an examination of some of the ways in which cultural differences are expressed within the student body both in patterns of participation in and running of student societies and organisation, and of how these tend both to reflect and to maintain the existing relationship which the social classes have with one another in certain spheres of student social life. Nevertheless, it is clear that cultural differences expressed in terms of students' social class of origin are also closely related with other cultural categories such as those implied by 'school' or region of home residence or educational experience of the students' immediate family - or rather the category 'social class' is expressive of a variety of other interdependent social categories - forming, as it were, a configuration of variables in social relations.

In this chapter we shall examine what all this means in terms of the student's actual social experience - in his relations with other students within the institutional context. We shall attempt to discover whether 'student' is a meaningful social category for the student himself, and in what situations he identifies with this category. Similarly, we shall investigate the extent to which the category 'social class' is meaningful to students in their relations with each other; how far they identify themselves and others

with social class membership; and how far this identity regulates areas of interaction. Thus the basic question is whether the student, passing as he does continuously through a kaleidoscope of identities, thinks of himself and is thought of by other students primarily as a member of his social class or as a 'student'.

The answer to this question is most difficult to obtain and the resulting observations equally difficult to quantify and measure. For this basic information, apart from that gained by direct observation, must be obtained from the persons concerned in the form of an attitude or opinion survey. While the answers to such a survey may of necessity make explicit what is only implicit in social relations, the respondent's opinion of what he does may also not correspond to an objective appraisal of what in fact he does - so that results may not portray exactly an objective 'social reality'. Indeed what the researcher may be left with is an analysis of what those acting within any given situation perceive to be socially meaningful. In itself this perception may not be central to an analysis of the situation - yet in that it is a symptom of certain structural relationships it may provide a key to the solution of problems presented by the analysis. In fact, where observed facts about a situation do not correspond with what is perceived of the situation by those within it, the 'discrepancy' itself may be indicative of additional factors, not previously accounted for.

Thus the author observing first the situation as students themselves saw it was able then to compare with the statistical norms which emerged from the surveys. A summary of what this shows us about the structure of social relations will be summarised in the next chapter. For the present, we shall concentrate on the students' perception of situations in which social class is a factor in social relations. To be able to understand this completely,

and therefore to set in context what will appear as significant discontinuities in patterns of social behaviour, the reader must to some extent disregard what has been shown about the statistical structure of the total context and step inside the student situation. For the student acting in any situation has only limited knowledge of the situation available to him and his vantage point at any one time is severely restricted.

Perhaps the best way to begin this investigation is to go straight to the heart of the matter, and investigate how many students admit that they are influenced by considerations of social class and family background in making close friends of the same and the opposite sex respectively. Initially the question itself may seem too blunt to discover imperceptible degrees of influence of social class in social relations - but by making explicit and more defined what is possibly so rarely defined, we are enabled to construct a model of statistical norms, in which actual behaviour is meaningful. The statistical model of opinions constructs, as it were, out of a generalisation of behaviour the implicit substructural guide lines on which over time the fragmented social behaviour is run. But in the actual statistics we see, as it were, a single compression of a variety of responses in a variety of situations at different points in time. The model is static, it cannot tell us what actually happens as we should see it at first hand.

Table 30 (Please see Appendix, Table 38)

Influence of social class on choice of close friends
(Edinburgh)

(a) Male Students

(i) Friends of same sex:

	U.C.	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Unclass.	Total
Yes	-	32	29	29	9	7	12	18	-	-	40	18
No	100	38	29	29	51	50	62	41	66	100	20	44
Poss. Uncon.	---	30	42	43	40	43	25	41	33	---	40	37
Total	100	100	100	101	100	100	99	100	99	100	100	99

Table 30 (contd)

(ii) Friends of opposite sex:

	UC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Unclass.	Total
Yes	100	84	83	57	74	100	88	60	100	100	100	81
No	---	16	17	43	26	---	12	40	---	---	---	18
Poss. Uncon.	---	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	---	---	---	--
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99
No.	2	37	24	7	47	28	8	22	6	1	5	187

(b) Female Students

(i) Friends of same sex:

Yes	---	21	15	--	18	13	--	12	-	--	100	16
No	---	38	22	100	41	48	--	59	100	--	---	42
Poss. Uncon.	---	41	63	---	41	39	--	30	---	--	---	42
Total	---	100	100	100	100	100	--	101	100	--	100	100

(ii) Friends of opposite sex:

Yes	---	97	93	50	71	96	--	47	100	--	---	81
No	---	3	7	50	30	4	--	53	---	--	100	19
Poss. Uncon.	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--	---	--
Total	---	100	100	100	101	100	--	100	100	--	100	100
No.		29	27	2	34	23		17	2		1	135

Table 30 shows the different responses of male and female students in the Edinburgh sample.

Only 18 per cent male students and 16 per cent female students admit to being consciously influenced by considerations of social class, although this may be regarded as significant when one remembers that open expressions of 'class consciousness' are generally thought to be antithetical to the kind of community values which students reputedly hold. Upper middle class students show themselves to be most influenced by considerations of

social class - 32 per cent of the Scottish upper middle class male students and 21 per cent Scottish upper middle class female students admitted to being influenced by social class - compared, for instance, with only 7 per cent English lower middle class males and 13 per cent English lower middle class females.

Social class proportions were more uniform than 'nationality' proportions showing that in this case social class divisions override national divisions. The sex differences are not very marked in this case either - which is in some ways surprising as it is often postulated that women are more interested in matters of social class than are men, and in interview male students often referred to this. It would appear here however that there is a certain consensus of opinion between the sexes both regarding making friends of the same sex and of the opposite sex. Those students who said they were 'possibly unconsciously' affected by considerations of social class showed that they were trying to express as honestly as possible that they are influenced by these considerations in social relations but neither in the manner nor the degree which the question seems baldly to suggest. Their qualifications added in interview will be discussed later.

In consideration of making friends of the 'opposite sex' in the case of both male and female students, it appears that attitudes crystallise, and both in the same way. Eighty-one per cent of both male and female students say that they are <u>consciously</u> influenced by considerations of social class in making friends of the opposite sex and, significantly, no-one put themselves into the 'possibly unconsciously' category. Again there are social class variations and it would appear that fewer Scottish working class and lower middle class students are influenced by social class considerations than their English counterparts - a 'national' variation. In each case fewer overseas

upper middle class students express themselves influenced than either their British or Overseas lower middle class and working class counterparts - perhaps because as 'Overseas' students their choice of close friends of the opposite sex is basically limited by cultural or colour differences anyway.

Scottish working class students, both male and female, are those who say they are least affected by social class background of friends. There are various explanations which could be put forward for this - either they are intrinsically less conscious of social class divisions or less influenced by them. Or, on the other hand, because as we have seen they are to some extent separate socially and physically from the rest of the student body, they mix mainly in their own circle and therefore do not normally consider the background of friends. One must merely suggest these possibilities.

The most interesting conclusion one may draw from these findings is that social class is not <u>always</u> relevant in close friendships but that its relevance is seen to vary in relation to the other attributes taken into account, for example, in the particular relationship involved with members of the opposite sex. Students discussed the question in interview and explained that in any close friendship with the opposite sex there is always the possibility, however distant, of marriage, and that this requires similarity of tastes and attitudes usually moulded by social class and family background. Male as well as female students were quite firm about this. One student in Newcastle even went so far as to say that one could tell at a glance the difference between the 'steadies' and the 'one-nighters' in that in the former case the social class of the students was closely matched, which was not so in the case of the latter, since it did not matter. This suggests that with the degree of 'closeness' of the relationship the relevance of social

class would vary. Most students in answering the questionnaire seemed to have interpreted 'close' as 'very close' or 'intimate' and in the case of such relationships with the opposite sex, the attitude of parents also had to be taken account of. The author was told of countless romances which flourished in the University environment but which broke up under the stress of the realities of different home backgrounds outside University or after graduation. Sometimes parental disapproval was involved in the break-up, but not always. In some cases, the relationship broke up because of differences which appeared when the partners were on 'home ground'. Here agin is evidence of different attributes becoming relevant in different situations. It is possible to disregard the class attribute in student circles, but in an external situation which continually brings to the fore class attachments, as in the family environment, it is no longer really possible. So that even personality seems to change in the new definition of the situation.

The question of 'closeness' of friendship was also seen to define the relevance of social class in any relationship, too, with members of the same sex, so that knowledge of a fellow student's background and one's reaction to this would depend on the depth and length of the friendship. Indeed, as often repeated, students in the main do not know of one another's social class origins since it is generally considered bad mannered to ask about parents without being told. In this, only obvious class clues act as immediate indicators in superficial contacts. This will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

One other reason that was put forward by male students, particularly in Newcastle, for the added relevance of family background in friendships with the opposite sex, was that whereas one can talk "to the chaps" about "women, drink and football", one has to have"something in common" with a

woman to be able to talk to her, and the relationship is on an altogether different level. Obviously the girls here considered differ radically from the 'one-nighters' mentioned above. The English lower middle class students in Edinburgh without exception said that they are influenced in friendships with the opposite sex by considerations of social class and family background. The female students of the English lower middle class had a high score in this respect too - 96 per cent. With other evidence, this seems to show a group with social class aspirations. However, the group has a large proportion of students of both sexes who say they are not influenced by social class in friendships of the same sex. Perhaps this has something to do with the large size of the lower middle class in which many friendships would be formed.

In the Newcastle sample shown in Table 31 (Appendix Table 39) a different distribution appears, which in turn will be seen to relate to the external University situation.

Table 31 Influence of social class on choice of close friends - (Newcastle University)

(a) Female students

(i) Friends of same sex:

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W. C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	11	5	--	--	6
No	61	66	58	60	63
Poss. unconsciously	28	29	42	40	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(ii) Friends of opposite sex:

Yes	14	13	3	--	11
No	47	51	61	60	52
Poss. unconsciously	39	36	36	40	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	57	91	33	5	186

Table 31 (contd)

(b) Male Students:

(i) Friends of same sex

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	10	10	10	10	10
No	59	67	67	67	64
Poss. unconsciously	31	23	23	24	26
Total	100	100	100	101	100

(ii) Friends of opposite sex

Yes	23	19	17	14	19
No	38	50	61	48	48
Poss. unconsciously	37	31	21	38	31
Never made any	2	1	1	--	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100	99.5
No.	142	189	91	21	443

It appears that 10 per cent of the male students as compared with 18 per cent in Edinburgh were influenced by considerations of social class in choice of friends. Comparable figures for female students is 6 per cent and 16 per cent. It is interesting that in each case the figure for males is higher - perhaps because more females put themselves in the 'possibly unconsciously' category. None of the female working class students said they were influenced - compared with 10 per cent male working class students. This relation is repeated in other findings in which male students are more explicitly influenced by social class than female students. However, if one adds together overall figures of those influenced both consciously or unconsciously by social class, the proportions are almost identical - 37 per cent female and 35 per cent male (58 per cent:55 per cent in Edinburgh), and

this would probably be a closer approximation to the ways in which students have shown they are influenced by considerations of background, although they hesitate to express it as such. Social class factors are taboo in conversation in Newcastle student circles although they exist in certain forms to be discussed. A Newcastle student would have to be very firm in his views to answer 'Yes' to this question - in Edinburgh social class is more openly discussed and thus an answer in the affirmative may mean not much more than a Newcastle 'possibly unconsciously' answer. It was a Newcastle student who said : "Students say they are 'not bothered' by social class because they prefer not to talk about it. Of course they are aware of divisions and think that they do matter - but they try to put it out of their conscious mind and put it off 'til later. Just as some people here are anti-semitic - but they don't go around Jew-baiting".

In consideration of friendships with the opposite sex, there is the same kind of trend as in the Edinburgh sample and an increase in the number of definite 'Yes's' - but this is not so marked in relation to overall proportions. However, the proportion of students saying 'Yes' nearly doubles, as in the Edinburgh sample, so that the 'differential' still appears and confirms what has already been said about the sexes - although the whole effect of the swing is dampened down by approximately 50 per cent of students who say they are not at all influenced by social class.

Naturally, it is quite possible that half the Newcastle student body do not consider such factors at all in informal student relationships, although this state of affairs would not seem to correspond exactly to the observed tendency of students to stress their 'common man' attributes and to be suspicious and ill at ease in a situation of blatent middle-classness. This does not apply to students in 'professional' faculties who reputedly adopt

middle class attitudes even if they did not have them before.

As many as 23 per cent upper middle class male students and 19 per cent lower middle class male students said they were influenced in making friends of the opposite sex - compared with 14 per cent and 13 per cent female. In each case, males are more often influenced than females and middle class more than working class. This may be a result of the fact that the total situational setting engendering as it does a working class 'ethos' is less geared to aspiration, as has been discussed, whereas Edinburgh is aspirationally geared. Thus, in Edinburgh, there is an 'aspirational overlay' which tends to blanket out expected patterning. In Newcastle this overlay is missing and influence of social class represents a preference for those 'with whom one would feel comfortable or at ease' - i.e., students of one's own social class, as one perceives it. Preservation of one's status is not involved. Thus only those who are concerned with preservation of status will respond 'Yes' - i.e., particularly certain middle class students in what they consider a working class situational setting and certain female students concerned to preserve or improve status - particularly on marriage.

In the Durham sample - Table 32 - (Appendix Table 40) something of a similar picture emerges.

Table 32 — Influence of social class on choice of close friends - (Durham University)

(a) Male Students
(i) Friends of same sex:

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	6	5	5	9	5
No	58	69	70	45.5	65
Poss. unconsciously	36	26	24	45.5	29
Don't Know	--	--	1	---	.5
Total	100	100	100	100	99.5

(ii) Friends /

Table 32 (contd)

(ii) Friends of opposite sex:

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total %
Yes	19	10	10	9	13
No	40	52	59	36	50
Poss. unconsciously	38	34	25	46	33
Don't Know	3	4	6	9	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	72	106	63	11	252

(b) Female Students

(i) Friends of same sex;

Yes	—	9	7	—	6
No	62	71	71	50	68
Poss. unconsciously	38	20	21	50	26
Don't Know	—	—	—	—	—
Total	100	100	99	100	100

(ii) Friends of opposite sex:

Yes	28	16	7	—	18
No	31	58	71	—	51
Poss. unconsciously	41	25	21	100	31
Don't Know	—	—	—	—	—
Total	100	99	99	100	100
No.	29	55	14	2	100

In the case of friends of the same sex, 5 per cent males and 6 per cent females express themselves influenced by social class - changing to 13 per cent and 18 per cent in the case of friends of opposite sex. Again, middle class students show themselves to be more influenced by social class than working class students. Female students are more often influenced than male students. This distribution appears more clearly in consideration of

friendships with members of the opposite sex.

If one includes students who said they were 'possibly unconsciously' influenced by social class - again one finds a substantial proportion of students express themselves to be influenced in some way. In what ways, one may discern from interview material and observed behaviour. Certainly, the categories provided for replies are too crude to give any subtle indication of students' appreciation of social class divisions.

This criticism is also true of the questions on student attitudes to class consciousness in the University - when they were asked if they consider social class consciousness at University is maintained, fostered, diminished or irrelevant. Naturally, 'class consciousness' is very vague and has different interpretations and the qualifications "fostered", "maintained", etc., will obviously only have meaning in relation to class consciousness as the student has experienced it outside the University environment. Students' ideas of social classes outside the University are analysed later in Chapter XII. Here we are concerned only with the University situation, and although the analysis is in broad even 'coarse' categories it enables us to move however slowly from the general to the particular.

Table 33 (Appendix Table 41) shows the distribution of students' opinions in the Edinburgh sample.

Table 33 Opinions of Students on social class in University (Edinburgh)

	UC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Total
Maintained	50	27	20	22	20	28	50	31	38	100	27
Fostered	—	2	10	—	4	2	—	13	—	—	5
Diminished	—	33	39	33	33	28	25	20	38	—	31
Don't Know	—	2	—	11	—	2	—	—	—	—	.6
Irrelevant	50	35	27	33	41	38	25	36	25	—	35
Depends on org.	—	2	4	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	2
Total	100	101	100	99	100	100	100	100	101	100	100.6
No.	2	66	51	9	82	50	8	39	8	1	316

Five per cent of students thought social class consciousness is actually fostered in the University; 27 per cent thought it maintained; 31 per cent diminished and 35 per cent irrelevant. The Scottish working class was the group with the largest proportion of students who felt that in University social class awareness is fostered - 13 per cent. None of the English or Overseas working class expressed this view. This may be explained by earlier findings which show the Scottish working class as an isolated group while the English working class are largely assimilated into the middle class student body. The Scottish working class tends to think that in University existing social class divisions are exacerbated, because they themselves feel separate. They also tend to show the distinction which a University education draws between those who have been at University and those who have not - a distinction often drawn within their own families. For as we have seen in the analysis of siblings' education, the proportion of siblings at University in this group is not high.

The figure of 35 per cent of students who say that social class is irrelevant in University seems not to correspond with figures already discussed showing influence of social class in choice of friends. However, apart from those students who have answered what they think the situation ought to be like rather than what it is like, it may appear that many of the students seem to have answered 'diminished' or 'irrelevant' in an unconscious and paradoxical effort to mitigate the effect of their earlier responses. And although this would initially seem to be a contradiction in terms, in fact it is very near the truth. For a single response covers a multitude of occasions and situations and the student may feel that on the whole in a majority of cases social class is irrelevant - and having only one response, although he may be able to think of exceptions, he will opt for the answer generally true.

It may not be true in the case of close friends, or close friends of the opposite sex, but then one is not always interacting with close friends. Thus, apparent contradictions are as meaningful as apparent conformities.

"Class consciousness" on the whole has an unpleasant connotation for students. In interview they were often willing to admit that there are class differences and divisions and that most students are conscious of their existence and are influenced in some cases by them in their opinions and behaviour. They were ready to state that one has 'more in common' with someone of similar background and is therefore more likely to make a close friend of such a person rather than one with whom, because of differences in attitude and way of life, one would not feel completely at ease - yet they were unwilling to recognise this as "class consciousness". I think they perhaps confused "class consciousness" with class conflict and were eager to show that conflict situations on class lines do not develop at University. This view would seem to be entirely justified. Although there is evidence of "class consciousness" in all three Universities there is very little real evidence of any class conflict in any field of interest.

I should, at this point, make it perfectly plain that by class consciousness I mean in the Marxist sense a feeling of a "class in itself", rather than a "class for itself". Social class identity and links with external divisions, and the existence of 'group' sentiment are discussed later in an analysis of what students mean by social class. But here we are trying to examine the existence of a social attribute meaningful in student social relations called 'social class'. Having isolated it we can examine it in detail.

It may be /

It may be seen in the Edinburgh findings that there are no startling differences in opinion between the various social classes. More of the working class students think that social class consciousness is maintained in the University. This could be because they are in the minority in the student body. It is difficult to see though why the Scottish working class has a greater proportion of students than the English working class who consider social class consciousness to be either maintained or fostered. An explanation of this could be that the English working class are so small in number that they are easily assimilated by the middle class and in fact do not think of themselves entirely as working class - which would account for 38 per cent of them saying that in University awareness of social class is diminished. The Scottish working class on the other hand are too large to be assimilated into the middle class, and yet too small to feel more than a minority group - in which situation 20 per cent think that awareness of social class is diminished.

The fact that the Scottish lower middle class is the largest group numerically could explain the high percentage - 41 per cent - who consider social class consciousness irrelevant, largely because they mix with each other. However, the Overseas lower middle class does not follow this pattern since it is as small as the English working class - yet 50 per cent of the students in this group think that social class awareness is maintained. It is difficult to see why a greater proportion of the English upper middle class think that social class consciousness is fostered, yet a larger proportion claimed that social class consciousness is diminished than the other upper middle class groups. One questions whether there are two groups within the English upper middle class.

Some of the /

Some of the speculations involved may seem to show certain contradictions in student attitudes and behaviour. In interviews students would often contradict themselves two or three times over in discussion of their attitudes to social class and then show at the end that they realised this. "Oh, dear", said one, "You must think that I don't know my own mind; I seem to contradict myself so often - but really it is so difficult to have any clear cut views on anything so complicated as social class". The researcher realises the problems involved in expressing attitudes on social class and describing behaviour, and recognises that the complexity is not only in the 'expression' but in the 'action'. Human behaviour is rarely systematic - nor does it run along single lines of choice - rather is it, especially where social class is involved, an accumulation of post-choices, often arbitray, each performing the next attitude or reaction, and changing therefore constantly in relation to past, actual or vicarious experience. At any point in time therefore it is extremely difficult to "pin down" one's social class attitudes and behaviour.

Appendix Table 42 shows the means by which students think social class is fostered, maintained, diminished or irrelevant.

It is clear that students believe 'students themselves' to play the most important part in the regulation of social class consciousness. The staff do not play a large part at all - being mentioned only by three students in any context. This seems to show a situation in which the student body is a community in itself, in many ways separate from the teaching staff, organising and regulating itself completely from within - in social rather than academic terms - with respect to formal and informal student organisation.

The whole system /

The whole system of education is thought to play a minor part, except in so far as it diminishes and makes irrelevant the awareness of social class. No-one considered that the system of education fostered social class consciousness and only 16 considered that it maintained such awareness. As the special frame of reference is the particular University surveyed the system of education is that found within it. By this token, most students seem satisfied that their University education is not class based or biased.

What social class divisions represent and how they are maintained is discussed in relation to qualitative material from interview and observation later in the chapter. First, we turn to a comparison of the situation in Durham and Newcastle. The Newcastle distribution is found in Table 34 (Appendix Table 43).

Table 34 Opinions of students on social class consciousness in University (Newcastle)

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W. C. %	Total %
Maintained	13	13	10	12
Fostered	3	4	4	4
Diminished	36	30	35	33
Irrelevant	46	51	47	49
No Reply	1	1	5	2
Race Prejudice	2	--	--	1
Total	101	100	101	101
No.	199	280	124	603

Only 4 per cent of Newcastle students thought that social class divisions within the University are fostered - compared with 5 per cent in Edinburgh; 12 per cent maintained (27 per cent Edinburgh), and the rest thought social class diminished or irrelevant in social relations - apart from 2 per cent non-respondents antagonised by the question. Although the topic

was not comprehended by the question, 0.5 per cent of students - all coloured - said that they had experienced some race prejudice within the student body.[1] This suggests that for these students colour equals class.

Sixteen per cent upper middle class and 17 per cent lower middle class thought social class consciousness maintained or fostered - compared with 14 per cent working class. The overall proportion is low and yet the slight differential between the working class and middle class students would suggest that all that has been observed about the prevailing 'ethos' of the student body has been justified, and that it is more often middle class students who perceive divisions - perhaps feel at a disadvantage - than working class students. In sheer weight of numbers, it is the lower middle class who appreciate the class consciousness in the University most - they comprise 49 per cent of those who thought class consciousness maintained; 52 per cent of those who thought it fostered.

Table 35 (Appendix Table 44) shows the means of fostering or diminishing class consciousness in the University.

Table 35 — Student opinions of factors influencing social class consciousness in the University (Newcastle)

	Student	Staff	Educ. System	Combin.	Total
Maintained	14	60	7	-	13
Fostered	5	--	2	-	4
Diminished	30	20	41	100	34
Irrelevant	50	20	50	---	49
Race Prejudice	1	--	--	---	1
Total	100	100	100	100	101
No.	427	5	154	6	592

1. As suggested by Little, Kenneth, Negroes in Britain : A study of race relations in English society, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1948; see p. 232; and Banton, Michael, White & Coloured : The behaviour of the British people towards the coloured immigrant, Jonathan Cape, London, 1959; see pp. 46-48, 101-102.

Staff were mentioned slightly more often than in Edinburgh, but again an insignificant proportion is involved. They were said most often to 'maintain' social class consciousness - yet this comprised only 4 per cent of replies on this section.

Students are said to be responsible for fostering and diminishing class consciousness by 72 per cent - compared with 26 per cent who held responsible the system of education. The latter was thought most often to make social class irrelevant in social relations, although 7 per cent of those who mentioned the system of education thought it 'maintained' social class divisions and 2 per cent 'fostered'. The role of the 'system of education' is on the whole held to 'iron out' social class differences, although exactly how this is achieved is left rather vague. But by virtue of bringing students of different social classes together, students seemed to think that University education made the first step and after that the students themselves took over.

In the Durham sample, shown in Table 36 (Appendix Table 45) a different pattern emerges from that of either of the two previous samples.

Table 36 — Opinions of students on social class consciousness in the University (Durham)

	U.M.C.%		L.M.C.%		W.C.%		Unclass.%		Total %
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	M+F
Maintained	18	28	21	22	25	29	27	50	23
Fostered	3	7	5	2	3	7	18	—	4
Diminished	26	24	23	27	24	21	9	50	24
Irrelevant	39	38	45	46	41	43	45	—	42
Don't Know	4	3	2	4	3	—	—	—	3
No Reply	10	—	4	—	3	—	—	—	4
Total	100	100	100	101	99	100	99	100	100
No.	72	29	106	55	63	14	11	2	352

Twenty-two per cent of students thought social class maintained and 4 per cent fostered - while 3 per cent did not know. The rest again said that divisions are diminished or irrelevant. There is a difference between those who said 'diminished' and those who said 'irrelevant' which will be examined later. Nevertheless, it would appear that a greater proportion of students in Durham University than in Newcastle University thought that social class is maintained - nearly as many as in Edinburgh - whose distribution it more nearly mirrors. Why this should be so is one of the special problems posed which will be analysed in succeeding chapters - but first we turn to an analysis of these figures in terms of sex and class.

Upper middle class and working class female students seem to be those who feel most often that social class in the University is maintained most often - while a higher proportion of the working class as a whole thinks social class maintained or fostered. This would appear to be somewhat of a reversal of the Newcastle University situation, and would seem to show that the working class students in the generally middle class atmosphere are more likely to feel that social class divisions are maintained than the middle class students themselves. However, since the atmosphere is largely lower middle class and broad regional accents abound, upper middle class students, too, are aware of social class differences. It does seem that the group most likely to think social class divisions irrelevant is students who are at least perceived to be in the preponderance.

Table 37 /

Table 37 (Please see Appendix Table 46)

Students' opinions of factors influencing social class consciousness in the University (Durham)

	Students	Staff	College System	Whole Educ. System	Combin.	Don't Know	Total
Maintained	27	100	18	18	37	2	22
Fostered	3	---	15	4	6	-	4
Diminished	28	---	36	40	26	-	24
Irrelevant	41	---	30	38	31	98	49
Total	99	100	99	100	100	100	99
No.	128	2	33	50	70	69	352

This table, showing by what means the students thought the situation is affected, reveals a surprising proportion of 15 per cent of students who thought that social class divisions are fostered "by the collegiate system" while ~~thirty-six~~ per cent thought that the collegiate system diminished social class consciousness. This must not be taken to mean the actual process of 'living together in colleges' which as we shall see later was generally thought to have a beneficial effect in reducing class differences. What students said they meant here is the effect of a specifically 'college system' which introduces divisions in various ways. By its separate "ivory towerness" it introduces a town/gown rift and gives students a 'superior' attitude. Its status as an ancient institution and its emphasis on outdated traditions (in students' eyes) stresses the separateness of the 'young gentlemen' which is at variance with modern living; and inter-collegiate rivalry which puts stress on "O.K." and "non-O.K." colleges increases awareness of social class features of college images. For example, University college men, i.e., 'Castle men', are encouraged to think themselves upper-crust and superior by both institutional re-inforcement and traditional castle setting.

In Durham /

In Durham 'students themselves' are thought to be less responsible for influencing social class divisions than institutional means - only 36 per cent mentioned them as the major factor and a large majority were thought to 'maintain' class divisions. The only staff who were mentioned were thought to 'maintain' social class consciousness.

The educational system was thought by 18.4 per cent of students to 'maintain' divisions and by four per cent to actually encourage them. This refers once again to the 'haves/have not' split of which Durham students, as they wander through the town in academic gowns, are particularly conscious. A sizeable proportion of students, however, - 20 per cent - felt that the situation was too complex to be expressed in terms of any one factor and of their own accord spoke of a 'combination' of factors. In Durham particularly one can see that this is more nearly a representation of the truth.

Since we have briefly discussed students' attitudes to the effect of the collegiate system on class divisions it may be of help here to examine which factors students thought to affect the prestige of a college. Table 38 (Appendix Table 47) shows results.

Table 38 Whether students thought that colleges are ranked in prestige

	Male Digs	Male College	Female Digs	Female College	Total
Colleges ranked	66	66	50	77	68
Not ranked	16	16	11	9	14
Don't Know	18	18	39	14	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No.	73	179	18	82	352

Sixty-eight per cent of students thought that colleges are ranked by students in terms of prestige. Seventy-seven per cent of female students living in colleges think that colleges are ranked - the highest proportion. This may be accounted for by the fact that the men are normally thought of in terms of their college, i.e., "He's a Castle man" (high prestige) or a "Cuthsman" (low prestige) and are commonly assessed in terms of college prestige in terms of "dating". The personal deficiences of a "Castle man" are outweighed by his social advantages - a "Cuthsman" will be assessed on personal merit alone. It is significant that of female students in 'digs' who do not have to keep up dating prestige, or 'dating rating' in the face of college mates - only 50 per cent think colleges ranked.

Those who thought colleges ranked by students in general - though not necessarily by themselves - were asked to state what reasons they would give for high prestige ranking of a college.

Table 39 (Please see Appendix Table 48)

Student opinions of basic criterion for ranking Colleges (Durham)

	U.M.C.%		L.M.C.%		W.C.%		Unclass.%		Total %
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male & Fem.
Academic Ach.	3	-	11	7	6	14	9	-	7
Wealth	1	-	2	2	2	7	-	50	2
Fam. background	8	10	11	9	6	21	18	—	10
Abils. & talents	21	24	18	27	21	22	9	50	21
Social adapt.	17	17	7	4	8	21	18	—	10
Social conform.	7	4	7	9	8	--	18	—	7
Enthusiasm	11	17	6	9	8	7	9	—	9
Personality	13	17	24	20	19	--	9	—	18
Snobbery	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	1
No reply	20	10	15	13	19	7	9	—	15
Total	101	99	101	100	100	99	99	100	100
No.	72	29	106	55	63	14	11	2	352

Twenty-one per cent put "the abilities and talents" of its members, the highest single proportion, but by no means a majority; ten per cent thought that college members' social class determined prestige - a reason not favoured by working class female students. Seven per cent of this group also thought "wealth of members" to be the most important factor. Together with the 21 per cent who voted for "social adaptability" the distribution of replies in this group would seem to point to involvement of college prestige ranking with social class considerations. Lower middle class female students mentioned most often "personality" and "abilities and talents" - which accounted for 39 per cent of all students' replies. Not one of the female working class mentioned "personality".

The fact that the unclassified group mentions most often "social adaptability", "social conformity" and "family background" - 18 per cent in each case - might point to the fact that this is comprised largely of working class students who would not rather than could not state father's occupation on the questionnaire. Naturally, this is merely speculation.

In the Edinburgh sample students were asked in general what determined a student's social standing in the student body, in an attempt to compare social divisions in the student body with those 'outside' the institutional setting. This will only be mentioned here and will be discussed in greater detail along with students' ideas on social class in Chapter XII. "Family background" represents "social class" since students cannot be judged by indices such as occupation, income, etc.

Table 40 /

Table 40 (Please see Appendix Table 49)

Criteria determining a student's social standing in the University

	SUC	SUMC	EUMC	OUMC	SLMC	ELMC	OLMC	SWC	EWC	OWC	Unclass.	Total
Family Background	--	14	8	11	12	12	25	10	-	100	17	12
Wealth	--	5	6	--	1	--	--	5	-	---	17	3
Academic Prowess	--	5	6	33	7	2	13	10	13	---	--	7
Other abils.	50	45	33	33	53	36	25	49	50	---	33	44
Combination	--	11	18	--	4	20	25	12	38	---	34	13
Other	50	20	26	--	21	26	--	13	--	---	--	19
Don't Know	--	1	4	22	--	4	13	--	--	---	--	2
Total	100	101	101	99	98	100	101	99	101	100	101	100
No.	2	66	51	9	82	50	8	39	8	1	6	322

Only 12 per cent of students think that a student's social standing is determined by his family background although it is a proportion large enough to be significant. The greatest number of students choosing this criterion are the Scottish middle class. A high percentage of the Overseas lower middle class thought this too - 25 per cent, as did one Overseas working class student. Perhaps by 'family background' the Overseas students meant also the factor of nationality feeling that 'being foreign' affected their standing in the student body.

Only 3 per cent of students think that wealth determines a student's standing.

Said one /

Said one Edinburgh lower middle class student : "There is no keeping up with the Jones's in University like there is outside. As far as money goes we're all in the same boat".

An Edinburgh upper middle class student said : "Some of the people with grants have much more money than I do - there is no-one really poor at University".

Many students would strongly dispute that last sentence, but would agree that lack of money alone is no handicap to a student socially. Most of the students who thought "money" an important criterion were Scottish.

The low figure of 7 per cent who think that academic prowess determines a student's social standing compares with the low Durham figure, and illustrates a point made earlier that it is the students who 'stick out' in some way who do not 'get on' socially in the student body. Someone who is extremely successful academically, or who is seen to be so, offends the norms of conformity, and is regarded as something of a deviant or a 'ratebuster'[1], who makes other people feel uncomfortable. Academic prowess is not therefore regarded as a determinant of status. It is interesting to note that more of the working class and overseas students as a whole chose this category, perhaps because they had needed a greater academic effort to get to University. By far the largest numbers of students said that "other abilities" and talents are most used to determine a student's status in the University - 44 per cent - and of the 80 students who thought it was something else, 49 said "personality". It would seem from these figures that the majority of students feel that in the

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1. As used in literature in the field of Industrial Sociology - for example, Roethlisberger and Dixon, op. cit.

student body an individual is judged on his own merits, i.e., be considered praimrily by others as a "fellow student". This is an impersonal judgement on impersonal 'persons' - judgements in terms of immediate social relations may differ with context, making conscious perhaps something which is normally unconscious.

In trying to translate some of these statistical findings in their crude form into actual behaviour and experience of students, we may think of the attitudinal patterns which students present as something like the 'thought of orders' described by Lévy-Strauss. He says : "These thought of orders cannot be checked against the experience to which they refer; since they are one and the same thing as this experience"[1]. And in the same way one can only quote students' experience in conjunction with the 'thought of orders' rather than check it against - for they are one and the same thing.

Although in interviews students expressed many prejudiced generalisations about members of other social classes, in practice it would seem to be true that social class divisions are not so clearly defined in the student body as they are in society at large. Indeed, the prejudiced generalisations expressed seemed often to be based on very little or no actual evidence and resulted from lack of contact between members of social classes rather than from contact experienced. In addition, a student's social class, as indicated by a complex set of indices, is very difficult to judge at University, as was constantly pointed out in interview. Most students are far away from home and must therefore be judged as individuals rather than as members of families. Thus social class is primarily a 'label' or an '<u>attribute</u>'

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1. Lévy-Strauss, Claude, "Social Structure", <u>Anthropology Today</u>; (ed. Kroeber), pp. 524-550. University of Chicago Press, 1953.

which refers to a cultural and interactional group outside the University, and its relevance in social situations will be perceived in terms of the student's past actual or vicarious experience of social class outside, as well as inside the University. Social class 'differences' which he perceives within the student body will be interpreted in the light of what he already knows of social class. This may partially account for different patterns of responses of social classes to some of the questions asked. Those who differentiate crude material categories will differ in their replies from those who lay stress on separate 'values' and 'interests' - and it would appear that the latter are in the majority.

As individuals at University students are all in the same environment and are subject in a broad sense to the same influences; they are all within a certain range of age and intelligence, possibly also within a range of gross material prosperity. Said one student: "The top and bottom have been cut off the strata - so the picture one has is inaccurate".

It was repeated often in interviews that if students have got so far in their education they must to some extent be alike in outlook, attitude and behaviour - i.e., the category 'student' presupposes a certain degree of cultural uniformity. However, a negligible proportion of students suggested that by being students individuals are any the less members of social classes - the one does not preclude the other. Social class may "not matter" in certain situations but it nevertheless exists as a meaningful social category - with which students identify. The statistical findings at the beginning of this chapter would seem to show this conclusively. What they cannot show, by very virtue of their being statistical norms, expressing a summation of social behaviour, is the significant discontinuity and dissimilarities in response and interaction over time. These may only be discovered by an observation of

"what people actually do"[1] in a variety of social situations. A short summary of observations on actual behaviour and interview material will be presented here, along with comments on how this compares with the statistical evidence. Reasons why 'perceived' and 'actual' situations and behaviour do not always coincide will be examined in Part III, as well as an explanation of what happens when these two do coincide - with all the implications for structural analysis.

As far as students are concerned the principal way of ranking fellow students is to find out about family background and father's occupations - as a socio-economic indicator. In fact, this is rarely done in student circles and it is thought bad mannered to ask "What does your father do", or to boast of wealthy or successful parents. Therefore, in the light of this students often began in interviews by denying that there is any 'class consciousness' in the student body.

It would seem to be true of students' observed behaviour that they do not often discuss matters of family background with the intention of ranking one another in terms of social class. However, this is of limited significance in itself and as meaningless without qualification as the purely statistical results. Students do differentiate between members of different types of school for instance, and as we shall see in Chapter X this is a very significant 'cultural' division, they are also aware of accents - and to some either 'iron out' or 'broaden' their accents depending

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1. Little, Kenneth, Social Anthropology in Modern Life. Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Edinburgh, 18th January, 1965.

on what they perceive to be appropriate in the particular context in which they find themselves. Although the basic 'clues' of family and home residence are missing there are present 'personal' clues such as speech and manner which may be just as telling. However, the significant point here is that these 'clues' are identifiable yet are not rigidly associated with socio-economic status of parents - as in the person of a working class boy who won his way to a public school and became 'enculturated' into middle class ways before coming to University. This kind of identification may thus tend to 'blur' social class divisions in socio-economic terms, or rather tend to emphasise other dimensions of the existing social class.

Although students stressed lack of class consciousness among students, they nevertheless spoke of the 'unconscious drift' together of people with similar backgrounds - and this was an inconsistency which they failed to reconcile - and were sometimes conscious of as an inconsistency.

The 'unconscious drift' together of people with similar backgrounds was explained in terms of shared attitudes and interests. "One has more in common with people of similar background and feels more at home with them" said one middle class Edinburgh student. The same idea was put in another way by a Newcastle working class student who said that "The lads I go about with are ordinary chaps and like doing the same kind of things. I don't think anyone who wore a bow tie would fit in". The reference to 'dress' as being symbolic of class membership is an example of the fact that such considerations are by no means absent in students' social class relations.

The stress /

The stress on common interests shows the way that students think they distinguish between members of social classes in terms of non-material culture and internalized value systems - but - in fact this distinction may be misleading and based on experience of 'external' social classes. For instance, a middle class student who says "Where I would go to a concert, a working class student would go to a pub or a cinema" is making assumptions in terms of a social class stereotype which he possibly had before coming to University, and he allows impressions of the working class in general to cloud his appreciation of the working class student's 'studentness', i.e., that which they have in common.

Certain middle class students, when asked whether it would be possible for a working class student to have similar interests as a product of his education rather than his family background - seemed to think it most unlikely that such a thing could happen. Thus for these students a hypothetical social class attribute precluded common 'student' identity. Yet because at the student level 'interests' do not so rigidly follow social class lines their analysis is misleading, and does not operate in practice. However, where 'interests' do diverge widely it is likely that such students would label these as social class differences and use them to reinforce assumptions already held.

As we have already seen, in analysis of choice of friends the extent to which such factors operate, as it were, in ignorance and the extent to which they are based on fact depends on the closeness of friendship - so that students are not concerned with the social class of acquaintances whom they meet casually in the University context while they gradually find out about friends' backgrounds as they get to know them better. Usually, they claimed, and quite by accident it often turned out to be a similar

background. Where it was not, by that time in close friendships it did not matter. Therefore, closeness of relationship seems to be an important factor in analysis of the influence of social class - and obviously, in this, initial contact of social class members is a necessary prerequisite to the developing of such relationships. Where certain features of structure - as we shall see in Part III - restrict such contact there are very obvious repercussions in terms of social class relations.

For a variety of reasons, therefore, social class divisions within the University are 'blurred'. These may be summarised as follows :-

(a) Students within the University are in general "cut free" from their family background so that many social class clues are missing.

(b) Students in fact represent only a restricted "band" of the population in terms of certain attributes including socio-economic social class.

(c) Those attributes which they do exhibit are sometimes misleading as indicators of socio-economic class.

(d) In any event the students do not in general discover the more obvious 'indicators' of socio-economic classes in casual relations.

(e) Members of social classes do not always meet one another in the institutional context - so that the preceding points may for some never need to be taken into account.

As a result it is fairly common to hear students speak of the student community as a little unreal; a community apart and that ordinary social class distinctions become more personalised and based on feelings of "people like me" and "people who are different". Therefore, it is those without distinctive class marks who are accepted into the group to which they aspire - and those who 'stand out' in face of the prevailing norm who are not accepted and who experience particularly the 'consciousness' of social class. This may apply equally to a public school boy in a "working class" University or a working class student in a "middle class" college. And the fact that some students resent what they see as the 'pressure to conform' results in "inverted snobbery", broadening of accents, coarsening of language and manners, in a conscious expression of "them and us" identity. "Meeting people from a wide variety of backgrounds is one of the most worthwhile experiences the University can offer, but this social diversity is also a source of conflict and anxiety. There is a risk that communal life in hall or college will make the divisions more obtrusive; cliques at table, secret societies, selective dining and wining clubs, define for the less privileged student the limits of his acceptability".[1]

The fact that students react in one way or the other to what they <u>perceive</u> to be the prevailing social class 'ethos' or <u>mores</u> reveals not only that social class influences their attitude and behaviour, but also that its influence depends on the <u>perceived</u> situation - both at the institutional and small group level. A student who perceives Newcastle University to be 'working class' when in fact in statistical proportions it is as

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1. Marris, P., <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 101.

'middle class' as Durham, or who perceive a fellow student to be 'middle class' when in fact his father's occupation places him firmly in the working class, or as upper middle class English when he is in fact Scottish, is influenced in his perception by the same set of cultural and spatial variables operating at different levels. These we shall be concerned to isolate and to examine in Part III. Therefore, because we separate out at this stage the social class attribute we must of necessity gain only an incomplete - even one dimensional - picture of students' social relations, and its true significance as a factor in social relations will only be seen by comparison with the other factors with which it is variously combined. The ways in which these factors are combined will be seen to depend on the situation - for instance - in one situation geographical affiliations will be as important as or more important than social class, i.e., social class will appear as more or less relevant. In order to test this hypothesis, actual situations would have to be defined in order to ascertain the combination of social 'attributes' perceived to be relevant in certain relationships and the differential weighting of each. In such analysis it would be seen that both 'social class' and 'student' are 'umbrella' categories in that they cover a host of identities.

Where 'blurring' of social class divisions and ambiguity of social class identity occur, it may appear that University is a little 'unreal' - and its degree of unreality will of course depend on its relation as an institution with its external environment - as we shall see in Chapter IX. However, the fact that one might describe it as a "zone of transition" must be subject to qualification, and as we shall see, results from a combination of a variety of prerequisite conditions. Similarly, it is only in a limited sense that University represents a "sort of limbo"[1] for

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1. ibid., p. 129.

the student. This "limbo" is not a social vacuum of 'studentness' and cultural uniformity - for it seems clear that the 'internalized value systems' of students are already well formed by the time they come to University, and that whatever life within the University does to change these 'value systems' it cannot eradicate them, and substitute new ones. 'Student' as a social category is more meaningful to 'outgroupers' and it is in contact with those outside that student solidarity is either reinforced or diminished in terms of the relations with the third party involved, and on occasions of common sentiment such as graduation. It is the fact of being a student which is emphasised by structural opposition of those who are not students. Among students themselves the identity is far less meaningful and does not in itself express 'group' identity.

It seems clear then that the relevance of social class in social relations depends on a variety of social variables, variously combined in different social situations. These are largely cultural and spatial and will be discussed in Part III in detail. The ways in which these are combined, by determining the degree of relevance of social class or the areas of social experience in which it is an appropriate attribute, will also regulate by implication the amount of 'class consciousness' observable in any particular context. Thus will differences in degree of 'class consciousness' in the social relations of the three Universities be explained in terms of the variables operating in the overall situation. The fact that degree of 'studentness' conversely is also regulated by the operations of the same factors may mean that 'student' itself means different things in different University contexts.

The /

The following chapter will attempt to sum up the theories which may be abstracted from the empirical evidence, and to suggest situations which may be 'defined' in terms of the attributes discussed. It seems clear on the basis of available statistical and qualitative evidence that social class is a significant factor in students social relations, but that its relevance depends on the way in which the social situations are defined and the other factors with which it is combined. The variables which <u>define</u> the situational space and which determine <u>when</u> social class is relevant will be discussed in the third part of the thesis.

CHAPTER VIII

The relevance of social class in defined social situations

The last chapter has shown that social class is a significant factor in students' social relations. Yet the qualification which must be added, and which considerably redefines the nature of the problem investigated is that social class is not always a factor in social relations - nor is it seen so to be by actors in various situations. Sometimes 'social class' is taken into account in rôle performance and sometimes it is not. The reason for this would seem to be because different social situations require cognisance of different attributes of the persons acting in them. The theoretical implications of this argument will be considered later in the chapter.

In the previous chapters we have examined the relations of persons with common attributes, i.e., social class as an attribute. If, however, one were to attempt to discover ways in which the particular attributes are meaningful at certain times, i.e., ways in which they become appropriate indicators of interactional response - then one would need to isolate certain defined situations and observe which attributes are taken into account in social behaviour and which are not. In this way one would discover how the situation is defined in terms of the appropriate attributes. Such a study is beyond the limitations of the present, largely statistical, survey - yet some indications have been gained from analysis of variables in the wider context as to what factors may influence the definition of situations at the interpersonal level. These will now be examined - for they would seem to suggest that within the institutional

context configurations of variables occur and are defined as in the interpersonal situation writ large.

It would seem from an analysis of all available evidence of the surveys that the relations of the social classes within the University are regulated and defined by the size, nature and degree of contact of the social classes within the University. It is necessary to give examples before this point is developed further.

With regard, firstly, to the size of the social classes within the University, it is clear that contact of members of social classes and consequent mutual adaptation and transmission of elements of social class culture is to some extent regulated by the number of potential contacts available in any one context. As a result, whether a minority group social class is assimilated into the predominant social class or whether it maintains a separate identity depends on its size relative to the other social classes. We have seen, for instance, how the English working class in Edinburgh University, besides being an aspiring group, is also small enough to be easily assimilated into the middle class student body - whereas the Scottish working class is too big to be so assimilated and enculturated into middle class norms. Other factors enter into this situation which will in turn be analysed.

Secondly, the 'nature' of the social classes themselves to some extent defines the areas of social relations in which students as members of social classes interact. By 'nature' is meant the particular dimension of social class which predominates in any particular context - such as socio-economic or educo-cultural class - and within this social class the

kinds and number of cultural subdivisions which exist and are meaningful. These 'subdivisions' refer to the cultural configurations discussed in Chapters IV, V and VI - in terms of, for instance, national and regional divisions - which are both cultural and spatial - family educational tradition and values, students own schooling, and so on. Where these subdivisions are closely overlaid so that their boundaries coincide with social class boundaries, then they serve to accentuate social class identities and dissimilarities. Where there is much cross cutting of these subdivisions so that boundaries are 'blurred' social class becomes one of a whole shatterbelt of identities and its influence in social relations in the total context is diminished, or ambiguous. This is one of the reasons why social classes in Edinburgh University seem to be more easily identified and a more significant social division than they do in Newcastle University. In the former context, 'school', 'region', family educational tradition tend to coincide - as in the upper middle class - whereas in the latter they do not closely coincide, even in the upper middle class and this leads to confusion of indices.

The third and perhaps most cogent influence on social class relations is the degree of contact which they have with one another within the institutional context. If there is no contact there can be no social relations. This may be expressed in both a cultural and spatial sense, primarily the latter. For example, the Scottish working class students who live at home are cut off in a number of ways both culturally and spatially from the predominantly middle class student body. As a result their social relations with other students are culturally restricted and confined to certain areas of contact in work and leisure, which again has spatial connotations. An indirect effect of this situation is that perception of "the others" is based on little evidence and gives way in some cases to

unfounded and prejudiced generalisations. These in turn regulate future contacts and social relations. The 'perception' itself is a symptom of the structural relationships which the members of these social classes have within the institutional context - and may influence interpersonal interaction.

The size, nature and degree of contact of the social classes, therefore, not only influences their relations within the student body - but influences them through the effect which is has upon the student's perception of the situation - in that he acts in terms of that perception. This is true of interaction within the wider context and at the small group level. For example, as has been observed, Newcastle University gives all the appearance of being a largely "working class" University with respect to the predominating attitudes and mores of its members, this despite the fact that in terms of statistical proportions of social classes it is no less middle class than a 'middle class' University. One major reason why the situation is different in Newcastle where the upper middle class public schoolboy "with a posh accent" may feel the odd man out in certain circles may be that at least in residential terms the upper middle class students have reduced influence on the total student body because so many of them live at home - 38 per cent upper middle class students live at home compared with 30 per cent lower middle class and 24 per cent working class students. If one considers the reduced contact which this represents, one can readily see that at certain times the University area will feel the impact of a predominantly working class and lower middle class student body. In addition, 16 per cent of the upper middle class men and 11 per cent of the upper middle class women are members of the Medical School which is largely separate from the rest of the student body, and in which

working class students comprise only 16 per cent of the total student population. This will tend to "remove" middle class influence from the rest of the student body. This example shows the influence of spatial concentration on social relations in areas of 'residence' and 'work'.

In this particular example it is the spatial factor which predominates over actual size of the group and its cultural features. Thus social relations are regulated by what is perceived to be the comparative sizes of the social class rather than their actual size.

Another example of the ways in which 'perception' is influenced by factors of size, nature and contact of groups, is the confusion among the working class students - particularly Scottish - in Edinburgh University about the proportion of English students and their activities within the student body. It is often remarked by Scottish working class students that "the damned English" run all the societies and no doubt this influences their social relations in certain spheres of University life. Yet in terms of statistical proportions, it is seen to be the upper middle class Scottish students who predominate in the running of student affairs. However, many of these students have anglicised accents and have been to public schools - often English. Because of these confusing cultural attributes, they are confused with English students - and the reduced contact which Scottish working class students have with them in terms of student activities because they themselves live at home does not allow the misconception to be dispelled.

Thus the spatial and cultural factors outlined combine in different ways within different social contexts to influence social relations of the social classes in terms of how they perceive the situation. And in that the situation is real for them then it is in fact real. "If men define their

situations as real they are real in their consequences".[1] The students act in terms of what they believe to be the situation and by their action and interaction constantly influence and redefine the situation. We have discussed the implications for social relations at the level of inter-group relations within the total institutional framework, but naturally this has repercussions through a series of interlocking contexts down to relations at small group and interpersonal level, by ordering perception of meaningful attributes and the development of social class stereotypes.

"Men respond not only to the objective features of the situation, but also and at times primarily to the meaning this situation has for them. And once they have assigned some meaning to the situation their consequent behaviour and some of the consequences of that behaviour are determined by that ascribed meaning".[2]

It is the means in which persons interpret and respond to those situations that we must examine - for as Merton points out the way in which people behave in terms of the perceived situation is in the nature of a "self fulfilling prophesy". "The mechanism of the self-fulfilling social belief in which confident error generates its own spurious confirmation bears a close theoretical connection with the concept of latent function. Both are types of unanticipated consequences of action or decision or belief, the one producing the very circumstances erroneously assumed to exist, the other producing results which were not intended at all".[3]

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1. Referred to by Merton as the "Thomas theorem", after its originator, W.I. Thomas.

2. Merton, op. cit., p. 421.
3. ibid., p. 128.

We have ample evidence of the self-fulfilling prophesy in the "image building" of the three Universities which students internalise and promote and which influcnes behaviour as a perceived social situation - with witness as we have just discussed - the working class mores of Newcastle and the Public School withdrawal or adaptation and the reverse situation in Durham where it is the working class student who feels pressure to conform to middle class ways - in each case a feature of perceived situation rather than statistical norms.

The factors of size, nature and degree of contact of social classes which operate within the total context of the University in a manner which affects perception and regulates social relations in the nature of a self fulfilling prophesy are the same which operate to different degrees in all contexts of social behaviour within the University. The size, nature and degree of contact of social classes within a college or a hall of residence will affect social relations of students in the same way as they do within the total institution. As if on a continuum these factors will differ in degree though not kind, as we shall see in Part III.

It may be said that the spatial and cultural concentrations defined by the interaction of the factors in social relations outlined above delimit the areas of interaction of members of social classes in both a social and physical sense. Within this social area or what the author will call 'situational space', the actors define the situation itself in terms of the attributes of the persons involved. For the situations are in effect structures of attributes.

The present analysis in terms of the evidence of the thesis can suggest the factors which delimit the situational space and therefore the range of appropriate attributes - it cannot give any evidence of the mechanism by which attributes are actually selected as relevant in defined situations.

In order to discover something of the process of selection of appropriate attributes, one would need to select defined situations and examine which attributes are brought into play. This approaches the study of social relations from another direction, as it were, than that taken by rôle theory - where situations are constructed from the interactions of persons performing roles. The analysis of situational patterns would give an indication of rôle changes and processes of rôle playing in terms of social class in both an attributional and interactional sense. This latter distinction will be discussed later. This would give some idea of the nature of social relations in general, and the way in which certain attributes are selected as meaningful by individuals - attributes of themselves and others. This analysis would show what actually happens in a dynamic sense within the general contexts examined and the delimited areas of situational space.

An attempt at analysis of situational patterning by Kohn and Williams[1] gives insights into the way that situations are structured by those within them. However, in that they controlled not only the 'situation' but the 'attribute' whose relevance they wanted to test, their experiment is only of restricted validity. Kohn and Williams make the point, spoken of

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1. Kohn, M. L., and Williams, R., "Situational Patterning in Intergroup Relations", A.S.R., 1956, Vol. 21, p. 164.

earlier in terms of the empirical data, that appropriate behaviour changes in time in response to further interpretation of clues and build-up of experience.

In unpatterned situations there are degrees of appropriate conduct in a process of change, where there is a growing uncertainty about what is 'appropriate' behaviour. Kohn and Williams conducted a study to discover the process by which 'unpatterned' situations become defined by participants. They initiated forty-three situations in which they could observe, systematise and analyse the components of the situation.

The actual situations focussed on service establishments, particularly restaurants. Usual patterns of behaviour in serving customers, i.e., the normal customer/proprietor relationship was observed. Then Negro 'stimulus participants' were introduced into the situation and they and a white observer recorded events and impressions. The Negro represented an easily defined and perceived social component of the situation - in Talcott Parson's sense in that persons, objects and self are all social components of a goal oriented situation.

In the situations presented, it appeared that the participants attempted to achieve 'cognitive clarity' by striving to assimilate the situation to their past, actual or vicarious experience (author's italics), i.e., to categorize it as one of a type of situations with which they knew how to cope.

Confusion resulted from a wide range of possible degrees of inability to see any structure in the situation. (Here also we see the influence of personality and use made of past experience). Clues were sought from (a) a leader, or (b) from anyone or everyone by degrees. The orientation

of confusion was noted to differ from that of contradiction.

The interpretation of the situation depended on prestige-status. The Negro was least secure and most sensitive to minimal clues (as a working class student in a middle class environment? - or vice versa?). Conflict was resolved by (a) assigning priority to one degree of the situation more often than to others (the author would speak of attribute), or (b) a compromise solution in terms of norms of reference gap, (c) withdrawal or wavering.

A redefinition of the situation was not gained by conflict - which tended to reinforce a previous definition - but by a gradual process by which each new situation is viewed in the light of the previous situation. In time the participants change their reference. A new reference group and a new self conception result - and with them a change in expectations and consequences.

The results of this study have much to show us in explaining the significance of situational patterning in which social class is the meaningful attribute - corresponding to the 'colour' or 'race' attribute in the Kohn and Williams survey, although less visible. They show us particularly that within what the author calls 'situational space' there is a defined area of perception of the actors of attributes of both persons and physical situation which result in a patterning or defining of the situation. Goffman calls this a "region" and says that: "A region may be defined as a place that is bounded to some degree by the barriers to perception. Regions vary, of course, in the degree to which they are bounded and according to the media of communication in which the barriers to perception occur".[1] Of the actor in the "region", he says : "The impression and understanding fostered by the performance will then tend, as

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1. Goffman, Erving : see following page.

it were, to saturate the region and time span, so that any individual located in this time-span manifold will be in a position to observe the definition of the situation which the performance fosters".[1]

For in defining a social situation, the individual perceives as relevant :-

(i) Certain of his own attributes;

(ii) The attributes of A (as opposed to B or C - the definition in terms of persons involved);

(iii) The specific attributes of A (as opposed to any other attributes of A which may be relevant in other social situations).

We must ask what is seen to be relevant, and why it is relevant in this particular situation. What is seen to be relevant is determined for the individual (X) by X's perception of A as opposed to B and C, i.e., that they are different, and by X's perception of why and in what way A is different in this situation, and which of A's attributes are relevant in terms of the situation, in terms of X's previous actual or vicarious experience. In a sense this is a tautology - yet it emphasises the circular or spiral adaptivity of behaviour to situations and situations to behaviour.

Yet again, a social situation does not exist except in terms of the persons within it. Persons in a certain relationship make up a social situation - rather a social situation is made up of persons relevant with attributes relevant to that particular social situation, which is already defined by the persons involved in terms of socially meaningful persons and attributes. Again tautological, in that A perceives certain of B's attributes

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1. Goffman, Erving, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre Monograph No. 2, 1958, p. 66..

to be meaningful only in terms of their relationship which, in turn, is meaningful only with reference to and in terms of certain attributes of B and C.

The circle of this argument can only be broken - and then only partially - if we bring in the concept of a point of reference beyond the immediate situation which, as it were, acts as a lode star for the individual and orientates his attitudes and behaviour in a particular course at a particular time. In a sense it would be true to say that the circular argument still remains although it is widened in scope and comprehends a larger configuration of variables having basis in the wider social structure.

Of reference groups, Merton says that they "Are in principle almost innumerable : any of the groups of which one is a member, and these are comparatively few, as well as groups of which one is not a member, and these are, of course, legion, can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations and behaviour".[1] "This, then, locates a further problem : if multiple groups or statuses, with their possibly divergent or even contradictory norms and standards are taken as a frame of reference by the individual how are these discrepancies to be resolved?".

In the study of the student body one is dealing with multiple groups or statuses in which 'student' is only one of many - which includes 'male', 'female', 'social class', 'school' and 'member of region'. Thus, in considering influence of social class in choice of friends, students

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1. Merton, op. cit., p. 233.

differentiate between situations in which different secondary or contingent reference groups come into play. The choice of close friends of opposite sex involves a situation of multiple reference groups par excellence and one in which, as Merton says, certain discrepancies have to be resolved. This may often cause individual unease - as seen in the Zweig observations.[1]

Says Merton, "There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orientate themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behaviour and evaluation and it is the problems centred about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory".[2]

Banton deals with similar observations in an empirical study of "Social Alignments and Identity in a West African City" - again, an appropriate study in our analysis of student social relations. He speaks of identities where we have spoken of 'attributes' but the principle is inherently the same. Speaking of the immigrant he says : Is he able to modify the set of choices and forge an identity more acceptable to himself. If he does this then the pattern of group alignments will be affected".[3]

The same could be said of students who pass through a community at once alike and not alike and presented with a bewildering choice of identities - the more bewildering because there is more choice about the matter.

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1. Zweig, op. cit.

2. Merton, op. cit., p. 233.

3. Banton, Michael, "Social Alignment and Identity in a West African City", Paper prepared in advance for participants in Symposium No. 26, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1964, p. 4.

Banton says that the immigrant (like the student) is not absorbed into the urban system by a process of individual change in line with the 'melting pot' conception of assimilation, but through his membership in a local group of people drawn from his own tribe, (i.e., 'school', 'locality', 'class', etc.) - and that the definition of these groups and the things which symbolise them are determined by a pattern of structural opposition. Banton also says that "we have to look for the sorts of incidents that stimulate group alignment and how these incidents are generated".[1] What we have observed in operation among students is something rather in between Merton's "reference groups" and Banton's "group alignment" and yet owing much in formulation to both.

Merton acknowledges the difficulties in defining how and why reference groups as such become relevant to a given situation and says that "some simulants in status attributes between the individual and the reference group must be perceived or imagined. One this minimal similarity obtains other similarities and differences pertinent to the situation will provide the context of shaping evaluations. Consequently, this focusses the attention of the theorist immediately upon the factors which produce the sense of pertinent similarity between statuses since this will help to determine which groups are called into play as comparative contexts. The underlying similarities of status among members of ingroups, singled out by Mead, as the social context, thus appear as only one special though obviously important basis for the selection of reference groups".[2]

In the student context we must ask what is meant by "minimal similarity" and whether this can be fully applied. For 'pertinent

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1. ibid., p. 28.

2. Merton, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

similarity between statuses' does not comprehend in its rather one dimensional frame of reference the mutildimensional and multibonded character of both 'social class' and 'student'. In a sense these represent reference groups writ large, in which smaller reference groups operate - and it is pertinent to ask if reference group theory can therefore be used as more than a partial explanation.

This would seem to be because we are dealing with 'clusters' of statuses, and 'clusters' of cultural variables when we analyse the categories 'student' and 'social class' - and it is almost impossible to isolate any <u>one</u> of these variables because of their interdependent relation with one another - as we have already discussed. It would seem in principle that certain variables are always related under these umbrella categories, but that the way in which they are related may change with the context or definition of the situation, and the weighting given to each in relation to the others may concomitantly change with perception and definition. Thus is the attribute itself not only meaningful in terms of a defined situation - but its relation to other attributes in fact <u>defines</u> the situation - they are inseparable components of social interaction.

In consequence, social class as it relates to the social person in the student body is an <u>attribute</u>, i.e., it is a quality which is present or absent. As it relates to the situation, however, it is a variable - and may be present to a greater or lesser extent - or perceived to be so.[1]

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1. Ossowski, Stanislaw, <u>Class Structure in the social consciousness</u>, (Int. Lib. of sociol. & soc. reconstr.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963. (Trans. from the Polish by Sheila Patterson; p. 149 quotes Llewellyn Gross, "The use of the class concept in social research", <u>A.J.S.</u>, March, 1949: "An <u>attribute</u> refers to a quality which has an all or none existence. <u>A variable</u> refers to quality which exists in varying degrees".

As a result all such qualities are relative in some degree to the situation defined - so that not only may social class vary in relevance with situation, but its dimensions as such may vary in relevance. Therefore any analysis of social class in social relations must take into account the other social factors present in the situation for this will define the areas of validity of the conclusions.

For, indeed, in Sheutz's terms there may be "multiple realities"[1] rather than one reality or a 'spread of truth'[2], which may seem ambivalent though not necessarily contradictory.

Thus Oppenheim's observations on the influence of social class in clique formation in grammar schools,[3] and Jackson and Marsden's[4] apparently contradictory evidence on the same subject may both be true and merely different aspects of the same phenomeonon, in differently defined situations.

Oppenheim failed to discover clique formation along lines of social class in a sociometric study of a number of grammar schools. Jackson and Marsden came to the conclusion that for the working class children "their basic loyalties were local loyalties" and that in the 'fuller social life' school was 'hardly relevant'.[5] In consequence the "rebels left" and even of those who did remain a large number "stand out uncompromisingly against the grammar school ethos", joined together by a "very tight mesh of friendship".[6]

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1. Sheutz, A., Collected Papers 1 : The Problem of Social Reality, 1962. (Quoted by Tropp, Asher).
2. Tropp, Asher : personal communication.
3. Oppenheim, op. cit.
4. Jackson and Marsden, op. cit.
5. ibid., p. 106.
6. ibid., p. 103.

At first sight these findings would appear to be contradictory and yet we have to be sure of the context in which these relationships are set before wider conclusions can be drawn. As Halsey has said : "How a working class boy behaves in a working class grammar school differs from the way he behaves in a middle class grammar school"[1], i.e., the contexts are different, the situations are different, and the configurations of variables involved may well be different. So that it well may be that both findings are valid within the limitations set by their own contextual analysis, and the parameters which they tacitly or explicitly accept.

This kind of analysis is relevant to the University situation where the factors of social class composition, strength of external divisions, and strength of locality ties operate in a complex configuration of variables which varies with external context. In the comparative analysis the attempt is made to compare contexts and internal situation in order to discover certain facets of the 'multiple realities' of the students social realtions. That this is extremely difficult is acknowledged, particularly since the one dimensional tool of occupational status is being used to reveal the multi-dimensional phenomenon of social class, so that much has to be inferred. Indeed, what is often suggested is a series of logically possible relations some of which must still be proved to exist.

Thus it may be that Marris' findings on student attitudes to social class are true in certain defined situations in one context; Zweig's

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1. Halsey, A.H., in discussion, B.S.A. Exeter Summer School, July 24th, 1965.

in another, and the findings of the present survey in yet another. Marris says of students that "The University by its autonomy and detachment enabled them to postpone questions of class identity".[1] Certainly, this question is not untrue - yet it is not always true, and is dependent upon certain conditions. Analysis of those necessary conditions reveals that apparent contradictions, ambivalences, and compromises may be reconciled meaningfully within a social framework which comprehends dynamic aspects of behaviour. The dilemmas and inconsistencies inherent in the relations are at once symptoms of structure and aspects of change.

Zweig, for instance, quotes students as saying that they hate the idea of class distinctions, that they are generally reluctant to class themselves and that classes ceasing to be important.[2] Elsewhere he says that out of 81 students, 30 students "definitely declined any suggestion that they might marry beneath their class, in terms such as : "It wouldn't work"; "It would be difficult to get on"; and so on. He concludes that this would show that "many students drew a distinction between views held on general grounds and their own personal attitudes".[3] Yet even this is too great a generalisation which he does not explain further. Neither set of views is incomprehensible in terms of the other if one considers them in terms of the structure in which they are expressed. As a property of the social structure the antagonism to social class is as meaningful as the tacit acceptance of it - especially as both would seem to imply behaviour appropriate in different contexts. Marriage implies a variety of special

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1. Marris, op. cit., p. 156.
2. Zweig, op. cit., p. 40.
3. Ibid., p. 67.

social contacts and situations not generally inherent in the vague 'student' situation - and, as we have seen from the survey results, arouses a different response in students than considerations of student acquaintances. This is not only meaningful but crucial to any understanding of social class as a factor in social relations. Yet as has been pointed out, by Cohen the study of situations as opposed to attributes is extremely difficult to do, and not so far widely undertaken. He differentiated between the analysis of social systems which delimited - all persons with <u>one</u> social attribute (e.g., social class or occupational role) and analysis which takes <u>defined</u> social situations and analyses which attributes are relevant.[1] The former is that always so far undertaken, the latter must be attempted.

In the thesis the author started by delimiting her social system in terms of 'student' attribute with its subsystems of social classes and is now in the position to form hypotheses about the social situations, though not necessarily to prove them. A survey designed specially for this task would be necessary to fill in the gaps which now remain only too obvious.

Nevertheless, it would appear that the theoretical abstractions from the empirical data of the surveys could in principle be applied in a variety of social situations, and may have something to contribute to the delimiting of the situations at the level of interpersonal level where similar kinds of social and cultural factors may apply. As has already

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1. Cohen, P. Paper on 'Theories of Social Structure' read to a meeting of B.S.A. Sociology Teachers Section, January 5th, 1965.

been pointed out, the research design did not permit an investigation of interpersonal relations in the sense of actual role performance which could be defined and measured.[1] However, it may be possible that the findings on the interaction of cultural and spatial factors in the definition of the external situation may as principles of interaction be applied also to smaller groups in the internal, but related, situations. The analysis of the delimiting of the situational space in terms of cultural and spatial concentrations may have relevance here, along with the finding that the degree of coincidence of cultural and spatial concentrations determines the degree of clarity with which the situational space is defined.

The preoccupation with social, physical and ecological space will be explained in the light of empirical data in Chapter IX. Suffice it to say at this point that all these are crucial to any definition of the 'situation'.[2] Again, it is not possible to discuss, as do Goffman and Hall[3], the <u>interpersonal</u> space - we may only infer from evidence of intergroup space.

Intergroup space seems to be associated closely with actual 'places' in a sense of <u>physical</u> space - the concentration of 'interest', 'work', or 'residence' group has a 'base' which helps to define for it the situation, and also helps the definition by others. Findings have in fact shown that there are senses in which expectations regarding conduct come to

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1. See Banton, Michael, <u>Roles : An introduction to the study of social relations</u>. Tavistock Publications, London, 1965, pp. 21-22, 25-29. The author would reiterate what Banton has said that : "Those (classifications) which concern us here are the classifications of roles in terms of the social structure and not those belonging on the level of cognitive or personality structure", p. 29.

2. Goffman, <u>op. cit.</u>,

3. Hall, Edward, T., <u>The Silent Language</u>. Fawcett Publications Inc., Greenwich, Conn., 1959.

be associated with particular places,[1] i.e., the place in itself becomes a variable attribute of the situation.

The cultural and social concentrations which combine to define situational space have been delimited for convenience in the thesis to the areas of work, leisure and University residence. These demonstrate the complexities of the realities studied because in themselves they are at different times - (a) spatial, cultural concentrations

(b) situations

(c) external points of reference

(d) attributes of other situations.

These aspects will be dealt with later in the following chapters.

The degree of spatial and cultural concentration determines whether what we are considering is attributional or interactional social class, or indeed attributional or interactional 'studentness'. In the main, we have discussed only 'attributional' social class in the student body but there are conditions under which this may become interactional.

Although it is clear that social classes as communities or 'quasi-communities'[2] can and do exist it is only in certain circumstances which must be clearly defined. Otherwise they constitute in Merton's terms a cultural or social 'category' - which are aggregates of social statuses the occupants of which are not in social interaction. "These have like social characteristics, but are not necessarily orientated toward

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1. Wright, Herbert F., and Barker, Roger, G. Methods in Psychological Ecology. Topeka, Kansas, Ray's Printing Service, 1950.

2. Little and Westergaard, op. cit.

a distinctive and common body of norms. Thus social classes in general terms may be

(a) Groups : "large numbers of people among the greatest part of whom there is no social interaction although they do share a body of social norms"[1], i.e., 'quasi-communities'.

or (b) Collectivities : "people who have a sense of solidarity by virtue of sharing common values and who have acquired an attendant sense of moral obligation to fulfil role expectations", i.e., communities with collective representations.

or (c) Social categories - as just described.

The students' past, actual or vicarious experience of social class both inside and outside the University may be rooted in any one or combination of these types of social class and may influence his behaviour and attitudes accordingly. (This is discussed in Chapter XII). Thus social class experience outside as well as inside the University is an important indicator of patterns of social relations. It is clear that reference group theory alone cannot comprehend the totality and variety of this experience which may operate synchronically and syncretically rather than in spatial and temporal sequence or opposition. Littlejohn says that class is "an area within which most experience is defined"[2]. Among students one looks for the experience which is not defined by the area of social class and the experience not defined by the area 'student'. Area

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1. Merton, op. cit., p. 299.

2. Littlejohn, op. cit., p. 111.

perhaps conveys more than reference group in that it may comprehend reference groups within it. Therefore, one looks also for situations in which reference group itself is relevant as an explanation.

It is clear that in the student context we are looking at instances of both attributional and interactional social classes which refer back to social class in any one of its many forms. Since occupational status is one dimensional we may have distorted some aspects in the analysis which cannot be got at otherwise but by a one dimensional tool. Since occupational status is linked so intimately to other statuses it is a fruitful representation since it implies a meaningful cluster or configuration of variables.

Although we attempt to analyse the multidimensional nature of social class we do not assume it to be a quasi-community, i.e., an interactional class. For this to be true certain conditions are necessary. One of these is the possibility of members being able to form into a group.[1] This is most possible when the group is concentrated in geographical or spatial areas.

In University students are abstracted from their backgrounds in physical terms, and all 'clues' which go with this, and are brought into association with others of the 'student' community possibly from other backgrounds. Indeed, its very heterogeneity makes it a unique 'situation' in

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1. Mayer, Adrian C., "The significance of quasi-groups in the study of complex societies", pp. 97-121 in The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, (ed) Banton, Michael; A.S.A. Monograph No. 4, Tavistock Publications Ltd. To be published January 1966. Mayer says of 'quasi-groups' that the "classification may be made in terms of the common interests which lie beneath what could also be called a 'potential group'." He quotes Ginsberg's (1934) definition as "entities without a recognisable structure, but whose members have certain interests or modes of behaviour in common which may at any time lead them to form themselves into definite groups".

which the influence of spatial factors emerges clearly. Thus 'student' becomes the interactional category and social class a point of reference - or reference group - so that class is attributional - a one dimensional label. However, it is possible for the collective representations embodied in the individual to modify his perception of student representations and behaviour as a student.

When in the University context students of a particular class are concentrated in a spatial or geographical area they become once again an <u>interactional</u> class or quasi-community.

An analysis of social class as a factor in student social relations concerns the factors which help the student to define the situations in interactional or attributional terms with regard to 'student' and 'social class' reference groups. These factors are spatial and residential structure, both of the immediate context, i.e., student residence, faculty organisation, etc., and of the context the student came from and which he refers to in terms of past, actual or vicarious experience as his reference group, i.e., region of home, locality, nation and other cultural divisions. Other factors spring from socially and culturally spatial groups within the immediate and the wider reference groups, such as educational groups, and the actual student groups of which the student is a member or leader. The latter group membership is in turn a feature of external cultural divisions and class value systems - as, for instance, in 'interest' groups discussed in Chapter VI.

The degree /

The degree to which external reference groups are brought into consideration in social relations is in turn dependent upon the degree to which the institution isolates itself from external social divisions and is able to set up new and different inequalities. This will be considered in Chapter XI.

This concludes the summary of points raised by the empirical findings - some of which have been encountered in previous chapters - others are to be discussed in those which follow. It may seem presumptuous to condense into one short shapter what could form the basis of a whole research project, and yet the problems which are left unsolved may indicate the next stage which research of this kind should take. Most of the problems discussed in this chapter are not those which the thesis was designed to solve, rather were they thrown into relief by the material itself, so that although they cannot be discussed in the depth which they otherwise deserve, it is helpful to mention them here at the midway point in the thesis.

This chapter links, as it were, two stages in the development of the argument of the thesis. The preceding chapters have shown that social class is a factor in students' social relations - the following chapters discuss the spatial and cultural factors which combine to define situational space in which social class is relevant in different degrees.

PART THREE

CHAPTER IX

Spatial factors in social relations

In this chapter we shall consider the part played by spatial organisation in students social relations in the spheres of work, leisure and residence, which represent overlapping spatial situations rather than contingent ones. Spatial factors will be seen to operate in social relations in such a way that they accentuate or diminish the relevance of the student's social class identity in varying contexts. The cultural factors with which they are associated will be discussed in Chapter X.

We first turn to consideration of the student's social relations in the sphere of academic work.

Appendix Table 4 has shown the proportions of students in the various Faculties of the three Universities, and some mention has been made of the way that the actual siting of the Faculty and Departmental buildings[1] stimulates cohesion or division of groups along these lines. Influence of spatial organisation of buildings seems to be fairly obvious, in that constant and continual contact with fellow students tend to build up feelings of group solidarity. This is particularly true in departments of Science, and in Medical Schools where lectures and laboratory work take up most of the day, so that contact with students of other departments is naturally at a minimum. This being so, students in such work situations often spend leisure hours together also. In this situation, as we have seen in the Medical Schools of Edinburgh and Newcastle, a specific

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1. Please refer to maps in Appendix.

student culture or 'ethos' arises which it is possible to perpetuate despite the constant change in personnel. Since the change of personnel in Medicine takes place at a much slower rate than in other Faculties and after a greater number of years, it is possible for group mores and entrenched traditions to be maintained almost unchanged over time - witness the Medical Sub Council of the Newcastle University with its own particular brand of student rule, quite different in conception and operation from that of the Newcastle S.R.C.

Edinburgh Medical School also is generally known as the home of conservatism and tradition and medical students take on the mantle of former glories with great pride.

In Arts and Social Sciences Faculties where lectures are few and opportunities for drinking coffee numerous the same 'esprit de corps' cannot be maintained in quite the same way. In Edinburgh the Arts Faculty is a notable exception to the recent proliferation of Faculty scarves which has overcome the University, and which obviously stand as badges of "belonging". The Arts Faculty students mainly wear the University scarf - this is their reference group, much larger and disparate and less easy to identify within the general range of day to day relations.

Thus often it seems that Arts/Science splits among many others are less features of 'cultural' differences inherent in the two disciplines, but more a symptom of cultural differences fostered by spatial and organisational divisions. That there are intrinsic differences of approach, language and method cannot be denied, but it is debatable as to how deep the split need be under conditions favourable to mixing. Students of different disciplines do meet if only there is a common platform on which to do so. This has to be provided.

From faculty and departmental divisions grow certain 'images' the like of which have already been discussed. Said one Newcastle undergraduate: "Here we acknowledge that Medics are snobs and Agrics are slobs - it's as simple as that".

But we must ask whether it is 'as simple as that'. Yet students use these 'labels' in their dealings with each other, and the resulting stereotypes may have a prohibitive effect on the development of student culture and community life. The growth of specifically departmental 'in-group' identity and culture seems closely related to its spatial relation to other University departments. Even inter-departmental antagonism may develop which finds its expression in certain institutionalised ways. In Edinburgh, for instance, at Rectorial elections it has always been traditional for "Medics" and Arts Faculty to support rival factions of Rectorial nominees. The fracas which ensue are the sign for much good natured letting off of steam, and are an excuse for 'going wild' with some sanction. Yet there have been some incidents in the past when rivalry has gone too far, people have been hurt and police called in. It is always the opposition of the same factions which gives rise to these fights. Definition of certain groups has become 'built-in' to the whole student way of life. And since the particular way in which departmental and faculty groups combine or oppose seems to vary with the institutional context, it cannot merely be a feature of inherent disciplinary differences, but rather the particular way they are organised in spatial and social terms. This, of course, springs originally from certain historical accidents. One cannot help noticing, for instance, that there is less Arts/Science split in Newcastle where both faculties are more or less side by side than in Durham

where they are situated on either side of the river.

In relations of departmental groups - or particular faculties - there seems always to be an indication of 'status' or prestige 'ranking' among students, just as they are conscious in an external context of ranking their own University. And however proud they may be of 'belonging' they are well aware of how their particular department, faculty, or University, stands in the ranking of others. (This structural opposition is reminiscent of the fission and fusion principle of non-literate political organisation)[1]. Students speak disparagingly of Applied Science and Engineering while members of these faculties leap to their own defence before a critical word is spoken. And in the criticism by students of what would seem to be an aspect of 'student' culture, there is always an underlying note of what is thought proper in certain social class situations. For example, "medics" are thought to be half way or more to being doctors, especially after the clinical year, and they are seen as conservative, middle class, neat in appearance - even over neat - and well-spoken, whereas "agrics" and "engineers" are the "roughs and toughs", the hard drinking common men of the University - particularly true in Newcastle where this was almost a matter of pride with some students. How close an approximation are these 'stereotypes' to the actual students in these departments? Are students absorbed into the departmental 'culture' and made into the 'type' they are thought to be?

Firstly, in the Edinburgh survey the author asked students for a prestige ranking of faculties and then analysed the members of faculties in

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1. For instance see Evans-Pritchard, E.E., The Nuer : A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a nilotic people, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940 : Gluckman, Max, Custom & Conflict in Africa, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959.

in terms of social class of origin. Some interesting comparisons emerged. Table 41 (Appendix Table 50) shows Edinburgh students in the eight faculties and courses (Dentistry and Veterinary Science courses being taken in separate colleges). The distribution in the sample is unbiased and mirrors almost exactly the distribution in the University.

Table 41 — Social Class Distribution in the Faculties of Edinburgh University.

	U.C.%	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Uncl.%	Total
Arts	-	57	42	56	50	47.5
Divinity	-	—	1.5	2	—	1
Law	50	4	1.5	—	—	2.5
Medicine	—	14	12	6	17	12
Dentistry	—	2	3	—	—	2
Veter. Sc.	—	2	5	6	17	4
Music	—	1	2	2	—	1.5
Science	50	26	33	27	17	29
Total	100	100	100	99	101	100
No.	2	126	140	48	6	322

Firstly, one must note that there are no working class students in Law and Dentistry and very few in Medicine. It would seem that the 'professions' are still regarded as the prerogatives of the middle class, particularly the upper middle class in the 'older' professions of Law and Medicine, the lower middle class in the younger one of Dentistry. In this particular sample, Divinity is the exception with two students of the lower middle class and one working class, and with no upper middle class Divinity students. In this sample at least Divinity as a profession seems to have moved down the social scale. This could have something to do with the 'democracy' of the Church of Scotland.

In the newly emerging profession of Veterinary Science there is a higher proportion of working class students. All this would seem to show what one might expect that the 'older' a profession the higher the proportion of upper middle class students training for it, and the lower the proportion of working class - this may be a combination of both applications and selection.

The highest proportion of students in any class were in the Arts Faculty - working class 56 per cent - the highest proportion and the lower middle class the lowest proportion of 42 per cent. The lower middle class had the highest proportion in the Science Faculty - 33 per cent. If one accepts that this is the group with the highest proportion of first generation University students and that this group seems also as a result to be an ambitious group, one might see this distribution as a reflection of practical aims anchored securely to a course which knows more than the Arts "where it's going" - a fact which matters particularly to students lower down the social scale.[1]

When one considers students actual ranking of faculties it is important to bear in mind that students are guided in their choice by both their own internalised value system which is largely class based, and also on what they take to be prevailing societal values.

For example, it seems that courses which train people for a profession rank high whereas the Arts Faculty, particularly the General Arts degree, ranks low because students "don't know where they are going", and tend to "drift into" Arts courses without much forethought. The social value

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1. Sandford, Couper and Griffiths, op. cit., p. 190. "Working class parents emphasised the view of the importance of job training".

of Medicine was stressed by many students, particularly those not studying Medicine, and some thought that those studying Science feel superior because "they probably feel unconsciously that they have more practical importance for the country at large" (than the Arts). The economic value of taking a Science degree was also mentioned.

Those who ranked the Arts Faculty high stressed the breadth of knowledge gained and the independent thought that this encouraged. This contrasted with what they considered the 'technical college' mind of the science student. In all cases, the phrase 'technical college' was used as a criticism. If one takes a general consensus of views in the Edinburgh sample, one finds that Law, Dentistry and Medicine - particularly the latter - are ranked high by a majority of students. Science comes next followed by Arts, and finally by Veterinary Science. Divinity and Music tend not to be ranked at all, in keeping with the isolation of these particular faculties. This is in itself an expression of the relation of spatial and social distance.

In the higher ranking courses the social aspects and background of students were stressed, i.e., what "kind" of people they were, although in Medicine the fact that they were not regarded as very intelligent but were the hardest working was mentioned also. (This evaluation was also prevalent in Newcastle). In the lower ranking Science courses intelligence of students taking the course and practical application of knowledge was often stressed, whereas in the Arts Faculty and the Veterinary Science course, especially the former, the lack of practical intelligence of students was named as a factor of ranking. Arts students were generally though to be 'pseudo' - verging on 'beatnik' - who try to show they are 'cultured patrons of the arts'.

A complex /

A complex set of factors will be seen to be in operation in students' ranking :

(i) the practical material pressures of society;
(ii) the societal work of an occupation;
(iii) the imagined intelligence of those pursuing and/or their application;
(iv) the social background of students.

The rank order of students in Edinburgh of the various faculties will be seen to be inversely proportionate to the proportion of working class students in each Faculty - 8 per cent, 14 per cent, 18 per cent and 21 per cent. It is impossible to establish exactly the causal relationship for again one comes up against the spiral of action and reaction which brings about what was assumed to be true. In such circumstances there are students who 'fit in' and those who do not 'fit in' to the prevailing social pattern. In Edinburgh the higher the faculty in the rank order, and the lower the proportion of working class students, the more frequently was mentioned the class consciousness of its members. For instance, it was often remarked that certain groups in the Medical Faculty were very class conscious, and one girl told of a society called 'N.O.C.D.' or 'Not Our Class Darling'. Her husband had been able to join because he had been to Public School, but she was frowned upon slightly, for although upper middle class she had not been to Public School. The divisions created by 'schools' will be discussed later as they represent further sub-groups in the student body.

We shall now examine the social class distribution in the various Faculties in Durham and Newcastle to see how these compare with Edinburgh, bearing in mind the general points made.

Table 42 /

Table 42 — Social class distribution in the Faculties of Durham and Newcastle Universities.

(a) Durham

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Uncl.%	Total %
Arts	53	40	43	54	45
Divinity	6	4	4	8	5
Soc.Sci, (sub Fac.)	13	3	10	—	7
Education	2	7	9	—	6
Science	23	42	34	39	35
Music	3	4	—	—	3
Total	100	100	100	101	101
No.	101	161	77	13	352

(b) Newcastle

	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Total
Arts (inc.Arch.)	13	42	16	44	18	49	34	40	26
Law	4	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	2
Medicine	16	11	11	9	9	6	—	20	11
Dentistry	7	5	5	—	3	3	10	—	5
Agricult.	4	4	8	4	4	3	10	—	5
App. Sci.	29	—	24	—	28	—	5	—	18
Pure Sci.	23	21	28	31	34	33	33	20	28
Educ.	—	2	1	4	2	3	4	—	2
Econ. &Soc.St.	4	11	5	7	2	3	4	20	5
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	101
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629

One has to bear in mind that due to historical influences a smaller overall proportion of students read Arts in Newcastle, 24 per cent as opposed to 45 per cent in Durham and 48 per cent in Edinburgh. In Newcastle the proportions have been further broken down by sex, so this throws additional light on the faculty distributions. As in Edinburgh, a greater proportion of working class and lower middle class students in both Newcastle

and Durham read Science than do upper middle class students - who tend to concentrate in the 'professional' faculties. What is perhaps surprising is that in Newcastle - the only sample of which we have sex distributions - as high a proportion of females as males read pure science, although of course they represent only a small proportion of the total sample of those reading pure science. The proportion of females reading Arts in each social class is almost three times as large as the male proportion - and no females were reading applied science.

Working class men represent only 16 per cent of those reading Medicine at Newcastle (12 per cent working class women) - although this is higher than the combined 8 per cent in Edinburgh. There are no working class students reading Law at Newcastle and they represent only 18 per cent of those reading Divinity at Durham - which faculty is more middle class biased than in Edinburgh.

In Durham 53 per cent of the upper middle class students were reading Arts subjects, compared with 51 per cent in Edinburgh and only 27 per cent in Newcastle - this last proportion being comprised mainly of female students. On the whole a greater proportion of working class students read for Arts degrees than do middle class students, although this is not entirely true in Durham where the upper middle class students just 'tip the balance'.

On the whole, one can see the same pattern emerging that was first seen in Edinburgh - though not so clearly marked. There is a small proportion of working class students in Law, Medicine, Dentistry in Newcastle and Divinity in Durham, also surprisingly few in Agriculture - or rather surprising in view of the remark previously quoted. They are mainly

concentrated in Science, Pure and Applied, and Education in both Durham and Newcastle - and to some extent social studies in Durham. This latter remark does not apply to Newcastle where there is a preponderance of middle class students taking Economics and Social Studies.

Thus it would appear that certain faculties and/or departments are predominantly middle class or working class in terms of students in them and that few represent an unbiased cross section of the student population. Indeed, if one were to take a sample of years of study, this picture would change again as Table 43 (Appendix Table 52) of Newcastle shows.

Table 43 Social class distribution in the courses of study - Newcastle University.

	U.M.C.%		L.M.C.%		W.C.%		Unclass.%		
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Total
Ordinary	4	16	7	18	7	36	33	20	11
Honours	85	79	85	74	79	55	19	20	78
Postgrad.Dipl.	4	2	3	8	4	3	48	60	6
M.A. or M.Sc.	1	-	1	-	-	3	—	—	1
Ph.D.	6	4	4	1	10	3	—	—	5
Total	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	101
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629

In these tables it may be seen that a higher proportion of female students than male take Ordinary Degree courses, and a lower proportion of them take postgraduate courses. A higher proportion of working class students than middle class take both Ordinary Degree courses and postgraduate courses, which would seem to show a different kind of distribution curve from that of the middle class in terms of ability and/or inclination. For

instance, 10 per cent of the male working class sample were studying for Ph.D. Degrees compared with 6 per cent upper middle class and 4 per cent lower middle class. In interview some of these students, mainly in the Science faculties, confessed that they were not entirely happy in their subject and yet they had got into the way of achieving and passing exams so that once on the treadmill they could not get off, and could not think of anything else to do. Research seemed the only possibility. This despite the fact that postgraduate grants are so paltry by comparison with salaries in industry.

This kind of approach was not found in Arts and Social Science where research is less automatic and less supervised in terms of timetable and allotting of specific tasks. It would seem that only those who really want to go further in their particular subject embark upon a second degree in Arts or Social Science - rather than 'get a second degree' as additional qualification. There semed to be very few working class postgraduates in Arts and Social Science.

If one accepts that certain social classes are concentrated in certain faculties and levels of study, it is easy to see how the existing faculty divisions and organisation discussed at the beginning of the chapter may accentuate the existing cultural divisions in terms of social class patterns. Since class groups and faculty groups tend to coincide if only vaguely - they may become confused with one another and result in further regrouping on class lines. In this way what is in reality a division based as we have seen on spatial and departmental organisation, in the presence of social class biases, may become transformed into social class divisions - or divisions in which class is relevant. This may be

largely unconscious in that aspects of class culture may be mistaken for student culture or vice-versa. This kind of analysis would be hardly meaningful if students were all of one social class, with a common class culture. In such a situation, it is unlikely that the traditional Arts/ Science split would be nearly so significant, or so deep. Nor would the distinction between 'professional' faculties be so meaningful in terms of student cultures. Yet the fact that this distinction is so meaningful to the students themselves is not merely because of intrinsic differences in curriculum, but rather because of the 'kind' of students they see to be in a preponderance in those faculties. Thus members of a particular professional faculty may feel enabled to say, as did one medical student in Edinburgh : "People who don't fit in go to the gymnasium and meet people of similar interests". He was thinking primarily of working class students.

Those working class students who do 'fit in' are the a-typical working class, the high achievers with high motivation and aspiration without distinctive class marks. Since students are abstracted from their background it is on those distinctive class marks such as "dress", "manners and accent" that they are classified. Of course, what is seen as distinctive varies from context to context. The remark of an engineering student in Newcastle quoted earlier illustrates this : "The lads I go about with are ordinary chaps and like doing the same kind of things. I don't think anyone with a bow-tie would fit in".

For this student a "bow-tie" was a crucial indicator of class which implied a whole configuration of indices. These indices, like accent, particularly, mean even more in student society than they do 'outside' for they are all that students have to go on. Thus "Medics are snobs" is a simple

and easy categorisation which implies a factor of student social organisation. They are 'like us' or 'not like us' and like tends almost imperceptibly to seek like.

This principle is based, as we have seen, in the minds of students on 'common interests' which often seems to correlate for them with background and upbringing (and thus social class). In terms of University organisation and student groups it is necessary to consider whether 'interests' as expressed in student societies cut across existing faculty and social class divisions. This represents to some limited extent degree of contact of social classes in leisure activities. Marris remarks that "the students recognised firstly that people cluster naturally about a common interest or meeting place".[1]

As we have discussed before, in fact, student societies tend to be dominated by faculty groups - thus perpetuating existing divisions in terms of student and class sub-cultures. This is true also of sports societies and teams. "Medics" with their traditional 'esprit de corps' tend to form their own teams and take great pleasure in the group solidarity which playing sport engenders. This is rather a significant fact when it is remembered that it is often hoped University team games will engender group solidarity of a rather more comprehensive kind.

This remark applies also to the Durham colleges which often raise more enthusiastic teams than does the University as such.

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1. Marris, op. cit., p. 93.

We saw in Chapter VI that there are distinct social class patterns in student participation in and leadership of societies which would tend to make for the assimilation of some groups and the exclusion of others. The English working class and the Scottish working class are contrasting examples of this - and the latter's lack of participation in student affairs is a real factor in reduced contact between the social classes. This lack of contact, as we have seen, leads to misconceptions of the attitudes and behaviour of members of other social classes.

Yet the reduced contact which certain students, e.g., the Scottish working class have with the rest of the student body is rather more a symptom of a structural relationship than one in itself and it is in the main due to the residential organisation of the University in terms of its social class distribution - again in terms of spatial groups and degree of contact.

However, before we turn to the factor of residence, it is important to note that only in a few societies in terms of certain general interests do the social classes meet in equal proportions. There is, for instance, the question of the 'purpose' of the society. If it is a Ski Club or Yachting Club, its members will be limited to those who can provide their own equipment, often their own transport, and who can afford expensive holidays in which to indulge their sport. This would tend to restrict membership to certain social classes. Even in other 'interest' societies, as we have seen in Chapter VI, there tends to be a middle class bias, with working class students attending mainly the departmental and academic societies in which social interaction is limited. It is not true to say that class divisions and society groups coincide by any means and such societies as Dramatic and Debating groups tend to bring together

students of every social class. This could result perhaps from the fact that activity is orientated to a positive goal which all are interested in achieving, and for which the abilities of everyone are necessary.

Nevertheless, even societies such as these seem to have a 'geographical' base - a specially defined area within the University precincts - often an eating or coffee house - where members of the group may be sure of meeting without previous arrangements. Marris also has noted this point. He says that : "At Leeds the coffee lounge on the ground floor of the Union was thought to attract characteristically different patrons from the café in the basement"[1]. Similarly, in the three Universities 'places' within the institution are defined in terms of the characteristics of the people who use them.

By very virtue of its geographical situation the group comes only into contact with those other groups which frequent the same social area. This may inhibit or accelerate the processes of assimilation. For instance, in Edinburgh, the Dramatic Society has a special 'corner' of the Refectory which is held generally to be the most middle class and 'upper crustish' of student eating places. It is frequented by Law students, members of Ski Club, Boat Club and so on. By very virtue of meeting in this middle class atmosphere, the Dramatic Society members, however 'beat' or working class, imbibe some of the surrounding middle class culture and adopt the ways of middle class students they meet there. In consequence, the Dramatic Society gives the air of being middle class, but 'arty', which is not entirely a faithful picture, as the presence of a sprinkling of working class Science students reveals, on closer examination.

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1. ibid., p. 94.

Societies, sports clubs and 'interest' groups in a sense represent student sub-cultures - and yet as we have seen these owe more than a little to social class sub-cultures. The student governing bodies of the Universities - the Unions and S.R.C's - are an interesting example of this. Those who run student affairs - particularly in the councils and committees of the S.R.C. do tend largely to be drawn from the middle classes - although whether this is due to inclination and ability or the students' choice of leaders is unclear.

Certainly in Newcastle and Edinburgh the S.R.C. tended to be categorised as 'socialites' (a student sneer implying a variety of upper middle class traits) although, in fact, these people work extremely hard at the job of student government. This criticism was made less often in Durham - perhaps because it had less foundation, in that since student government has a broader social base, and since the whole University is so small - this fact is seen to be so.

Groups do form along the lines of 'interest' certainly, but again they tend to become confused in certain respects - although unconsciously - with social class.

We have now considered some of the main groupings in terms of work and leisure and we now turn to the important factor of residence referred to earlier in this chapter.

<u>R e s i d e n c e</u> groups play an important part in the social organisation of the student body - and particularly in halls of residence groups are formed which cut across faculty divisions. This is also true of the Durham colleges where bonds are formed across faculties, which permeate

other aspects of Durham social life.

Groups in large 'digs' may also form small communities, with common leisure activities. Sometimes 'digs' groups, formed at the beginning of the University year may stick together through succeeding years, and even move out into flats together, with very little change in personnel. This is often true of groups which are formed by 'freshers' in halls of residence. If one decides to move out the others will move rather than split the group.

Students often stressed (in all three Universities) that groups are formed on 'coming up' to University, and these usually form for them the nucleus, at least, of all other acquaintances or friends throughout the University life. This group may act as a 'springboard' to other groups - it is rarely entirely left behind. Thus, initial groups are often formed by accdient, students find themselves put in digs together, even sharing a room with a stranger, or they make friends with others on the same 'stair' in the college or hall of residence. Sometimes things "don't work out" - usually sheer habit of living together forges bonds of friendship. Where these distributions are purely random, they make for stimulating community life binding together people of different disciplines and backgrounds. A truly student culture of that particular group is developed. (It is debatable as to whether there is such a thing as a 'student' culture of a total institution, for as we have seen there is too much fragmentation of groups for this to emerge).

However, such is University organisation that in fact the distributions are very rarely random. Helpful landladies, Wardens of Lodgings, Heads of Halls of Residences, and Principals of Colleges, seem to try to juxtapose students who they think will 'get on' and 'fit in' in terms of 'background' and 'outlook', so that although there may be some randomisation

of subjects studied there is rarely total randomisation of social class. Indeed, it is often admitted that conscious selection goes on. 'Mixing' of students is therefore at a rather superficial level at which 'learning from contemporaries' involves nothing more stimulating than students of basically similar outlook, background and interests reaching some point of contact in terms of subjects studied. "It would be far more stimulating and productive" said one Newcastle student living in a Hall of Residence "if people in the same faculty but of different backgrounds were thrown together rather than the other way round. Then they would have a common interest and something to talk about, but a different way of saying it. After all, we are here to learn aren't we? Some of the conversations about work in Hall are so trivial they never get off the ground. But what can you expect when with glorious ideas of mixing you up, they put one physicist and one chemist in the midst of a whole load of linguists".

Despite certain drawbacks of this kind of distribution at least the student living in large digs or Hall of Residence or College, particularly in his first year is enabled to become part of a group and find his feet in the new environment. Those who initially are cut off in terms of residence either at home some distance away, or in isolated 'digs' may find that they have greater difficulty in joining a group - a problem which increases with time as groups 'solidify'. (Of course, 'isolation' may also result within Halls, etc., where there is spatial concentration of social class members in certain parts of the building - an isolation different in degree but not kind).

One girl in Newcastle told how certain personal problems became magnified out of all proportion because she lived in cut off 'digs' and had no one to talk to or go to for support and advice. This, coupled with the

problems of a neurotic landlady, combined together to make her attempt suicide. She said that she thought that this would not have happened had she been in Hall. Her case, though extreme, is by no means unique, and some students are unutterably lonely especially in first year when everything and everyone is strange.

Table 44 (Appendix Table 53) shows whether students in Newcastle felt that residential places in the University should be increased.

Table 44 — Newcastle students' attitudes to expansion of proportion of residential places

	U. M. C.%		L.M.C.%		W.C.%		Unclass.%		
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Total
Support increase	81	81	76	81	65	82	81	80	77
Do not support	1	—	4	1	4	18	5	20	4
Keep same propor.	14	19	19	17	28	—	14	—	17
Build Student Houses	1	—	2	2	3	—	—	—	2
Total	101	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629

Seventy-seven per cent wanted an increased proportion of residential places - and in interview and in remarks on questionnaires explained that this did not necessarily mean in the form of traditional halls of residence. Some (2 per cent) mentioned specifically - adding their own response category - the kind of University 'houses' or collection of bedsitters which Newcastle has just started building and which Edinburgh has found very successful for the past four or five years. In these 'houses' students are able to live to some extent independently although a basic number of rules are observed and there is usually a resident member of staff or senior student. Accommodation is modern, bright and cheerful and well equipped, and prices are not high. This contrasts pleasantly to the squalor in which some

students are compelled to live by shortage of accommodation in the town. The author knows of some very poor standard accommodation in Edinburgh, but felt that Newcastle provided some examples of unequalled degradation, where fungus grew on kitchen and bathroom walls, plaster fell off ceilings, floorboards rotted and lavatories refused to function. In such conditions how can students learn to be 'young professionals' or internalise the values of a middle class élite? It is as well that parents are often ignorant of the way in which their student sons and daughters live at University - or some of them would no doubt refuse to let them continue with their studies away from home. There are numberless student jokes and anecdotes about finding and living in certain types of accommodation, but often this is the only way to put up with an almost unbearable situation. Certainly the number of times which students change their accommodation testifies to the conditions which prompt them to move even in the middle of their studies. Of students interviewed in Newcastle almost all had changed their place of residence at least once a year, some moved once a term. In all cases but one it was a matter of choice on the student's part because conditions were unsuitable. One girl had moved four times in her first term from one dismal place to another, and nearly had a breakdown as a result. Table 45 (Appendix Table 54) shows that 89 per cent of students were reasonably satisfied with their accommodation at the time of the survey, though they had probably gone through a series of moves to achieve this desired goal.

Table 45 Newcastle students satisfaction with residence

	U.M.C.%		L.M.C.%		W.C.%		Unclass.%		
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Total
Satisfied	89	90	91	89	84	94	86	100	89
Dissatisfied	11	11	10	11	17	6	14	---	11
Total	100	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	100
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629

In terms of social class, working class men were most dissatisfied (17 per cent) and this may be accounted for later when we study class distributions in different forms of residence.

When these figures are broken down by type of residence in Appendix Table 54 in which respondents lived at the time of the survey - people in 'digs', including flats were most dissatisfied - 14 per cent - compared with 11 per cent in Hall, although there is not much difference here. However, it must be made clear that the dissatisfaction is for entirely different reasons. Students in Hall, particularly in later years, tend to resent what they believe to be curtailment of liberty, while students in digs and flats are more concerned with material discomforts and the practicabilities of cost. Thus, there is quite a different degree of dissatisfaction in each case. Even students dissatisfied with Hall life praised its merits in interview, and said that "particularly for first years" it was almost an essential of an integrated student life. Thus, although college or hall of residence may be seen by some as a "retreat from the realities of life" or a "cushy existence" (Durham students) they do provide a basic minimum standard of living which promotes well-ebing, and allows for working in a suitable environment - quite apart from providing some kind of community life in which everyone can (but need not) share.

Durham students were asked whether they had any previous idea of college life and whether their reactions to it were favourable or unfavourable. Table 20 (Appendix Table 26) in Chapter V has shown their replies to this question, but it is helpful to reconsider them here. Fifty-six per cent said they had an idea of college life before they came; 43 per cent had not. As one might expect, a higher proportion of working class students than middle class had no idea before they came. In the light of what has been discussed,

it is also understandable that a slightly smaller proportion of working class than middle class students had a positively favourable reaction to college life. On the whole the proportion of students satisfied (including those with neutral reactions) with their accommodation is approximately the same as Newcastle. However, one has to take into account that not all students actually 'live in' - so Appendix Table 26 gives a rather clearer picture than the text table by making a distinction between those who 'live in' and those who live in digs. A higher proportion of people living in digs or flats are actively dissatisfied with their accommodation than those living in college. Forty-nine per cent as compared with 65 per cent are satisfied, 25 per cent as compared with 17 per cent are dissatisfied. By far the highest proportion of dissatisfied students are girls living in 'digs' - perhaps they are more conscious of standards of accommodation than are the men. It would seem from all the surveys that men tend to accept more readily the drawbacks and discomforts of unsuitable 'digs' and 'flats' than girls. Perhaps this is because men see it as a phase of life which will quickly pass, while girls need to make a 'temporary home' for themselves which, in a sense, will reflect their tastes and status.

Said one male student in Edinburgh: "There is competition among women to share a flat with women who 'have arrived' in student social life, particularly around Bruntsfield. In that way they can get a foothold on the student social ladder and go out with somebody 'who is somebody' in the University.

This remark reveals what was constantly emerging that not only are places of residence centres of social groups and activity, but that they have a geographical base on a map. There are spatial groups within groups. This is true of the Jesmond area of Newcastle which is a most desirable area

in student terms because students who 'have arrived' live there, social groups have formed round them - therefore if one wants to be in the centre of student activity, and able to entertain frequently, Jesmond is the place to go. In consequence, certain areas are oecologically central to the University, while others are 'cut off' and devoid of activity. Sometimes students will accept flats and digs well below standard in order to be able to live near the centre of groups and social activity. It would seem that the social properties of certain types of residence often outweigh the factor of material comfort.

Thus students in halls of residence sited outside the city centre in Newcastle rarely commented on the physical convenience of hall life, but often on the social inconvenience of 'living so far out'. This is also true of students living at home who may be happy and comfortable and yet bewail the many disadvantages which living some distance away from the University always entails. Remarks such as these were common :-

(1) "I live at home and so am not forced to mix inside the University very much. Many of my friends are outside the University".

(2) "People who live at home seem not to enjoy University as they should. Of course, it depends on their attitude - whether they have come for a degree or to widen their outlook. I lived at home last year and have benefitted from moving away. I know many students who just sit at home and complain and don't join any societies. They have no enthusiasm for University".

(3) "I live at South Queensferry and feel that I have a different attitude to University from the English who come a long way from home; they seem to be very active in societies and to

mix a lot. I would have done better academically, too, if I had come away from home".

For students living at home there is not only the problem of distance but also the dichotomy of interests which living with family and friends brings. Many of these students said that living at home made them regard University as a continuation of school - a '9 to 5 job' - which they left to return to clubs and friends at home. They often regretted this, however, feeling that they would like to 'join in' more but not able to make the break with home ties. This was particularly true of Scottish working class students in Edinburgh, who appeared to feel reticent in joining in what seemed to them to be (and is) a predominantly middle class student body. In this situation spatial distance is allied to social distance in a way that prevents the integration of this group of students. These findings and those on the influence of residence on participation in student affairs discussed later show different patterns of student activity from those found by Alice Eden in her Newcastle survey.[1]

Indeed, it is clear that in any study of the spatial divisions and groups of a University, the question of social distance cannot be excluded especially since, as was stated above, social distributions in the different forms of residence are rarely random. For instance, the new Principal of St.

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1. Eden, Alice, "Social life in a Provincial University", B.J.S., Vol. X, No. 4, December, 1959. Findings show that students active in home centred affairs were likely to be active, too, at University. Marris, op. cit., p. 114, shows that Northampton College students did not follow this trend but kept college and home strictly separate. These latter findings accord with those of the present survey.

Aidan's College in Durham said that her predecessor had had very clear ideas about the "type" of girls that she wanted in the college in terms of background and also religious convictions. Said the Principal with a sigh: "I fear it will be rather a shock for some of these girls when next year they find themselves next door to a lorry driver's daughter".[1] This assumption was proved true when, after dinner, the Senior Woman said that her particular group in first year had had very mixed backgrounds and yet they had got on very well together. When asked the occupations of the fathers she said that one was a doctor, one a B.B.C. announcer, another a senior civil servant and another an admiral!

In fact, St. Aidan's College at the time of the survey had 43 per cent girls from public and direct grant schools and 36 per cent upper middle class - proportions second only to the two theological colleges. Thus, the community life which common residence is seen to generate is in fact generating a corporate spirit among the same kind of people, who had much in common anyway. If we look at the social class distribution in different kinds of residence in different Universities, this is seen to be true. It is less true of all the Durham colleges, but more true of some than others.

Table 46 (Appendix Table 55) shows figures for the three Universities.

Table 46 /

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1. Dame Enid Russell-Smith : personal communication.

Table 46 Social class distribution in University residence of the three Universities

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class			Lower Middle Class			Working Class			Unclass.			T o t a l		
	Ed.	Ed.	New.	Dur.	Ed.	New.	Dur.	Ed.	New.	Dur.	Ed.	New.	Dur.	E.	N.	D.
Lodgings	-	59	42	19	50	63	20	50	63	34	66	54	31	54	55	23
Hostels	-	14	31	79	17	27	76	8	19	65	—	19	62	14	27	74
Home	100	28	27	2	33	10	4	42	18	1	33	27	7	32	19	3
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100
No.	2	126	199	101	140	280	161	48	124	77	16	26	13	322	629	352

What is immediately obvious in all three cases is that the proportion of working class students living in Halls of Residence in Newcastle and Edinburgh and in colleges in Durham is significantly lower than the proportion of either of the middle classes. Evidence as to how far this is due to a bias in applications or selection is as yet incomplete, though it undoubtedly owes something to the latter. Nineteen per cent working class students in Newcastle and 8 per cent in Edinburgh are in halls of residence, although Newcastle has far more hall places in absolute terms. In Edinburgh, this figure compares with fourteen per cent upper middle class and 17 per cent lower middle class, but with 31 per cent and 27 per cent in Newcastle - a similar differential between working class and lower middle class. In Newcastle, a higher proportion of male working class students than female live at home and a lower proportion in hall, this could account for the high degree of dissatisfaction with accommodation displayed by this section of the student population. The highest proportion of students in Newcastle living in hall is in the male upper middle class - 35 per cent. The upper middle class Scots students have this distinction in Edinburgh. In

Edinburgh 32 per cent of students live at home, the largest proportion of which are working class. In Newcastle there is a significantly larger proportion of upper middle class students living at home than working class students. It was discovered that some of these are medical students whose fathers are local doctors, others were away at boarding school and wanted to return to their 'home' University; an even more significant proportion are ex-public school who did not make the grade, attended a crash course at a technical college and then got into the local University because it was a "safe bet". This kind of composition affects the dominant groupings of the student body.

Many students claimed that selection for halls of residence in Newcastle was biased - particularly in Henderson Hall, which it was claimed was "half full of public schoolboys". The analysis of respondents in Appendix Table 56 showed, in fact, not much less than 50 per cent - 42 per cent public or direct grant school people in all male halls, compared with 28 per cent in the total student body. The social class distribution in this particular hall is 52 per cent upper middle class, 45 per cent lower middle class and 3.5 per cent working class - which seems to show indications of distinct bias in selection. This is not found to such an extent in Eustace Percy Hall, or, indeed, any of the others, except one of the female halls - considered 'the top' female hall. This had 57 per cent upper middle class girls. Students claimed that they could pick out a 'Henderson man' at a glance, and certainly constant interaction seemed to engender a group solidarity which found expression in attitude and behaviour. The relation between social class and school is discussed in the next chapter.

However, /

However, 'images' of such groups are not always founded on statistical fact - which we may see if we consider the figures in Table 47 (Appendix Table 57) showing 'schools' and 'class' in the Durham colleges.

Table 47 Distribution of social classes and students' schools in the Durham colleges

(a) Social class distribution

	Bedes	Chads	Cuth.	Grey	Hatf.	St.J's	Univ.	St.A's	St.H's	St.M's	NX	Total
UMC	18	53	28	29	28	40	18	36	14	31	17	29
LMC	35	27	30	44	51	48	49	54	57	54	67	46
WC	47	20	32	19	19	12	33	11	29	14	—	22
Uncl.	—	—	10	8	2	—	—	—	—	2	17	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	101	101	101
(b) School distribution												
Pub. Sch.	12	27	11	15	17	48	18	29	—	8	—	17
Dir.Grnt. Pub.Sch.	—	—	2	7	2	—	—	4	14	4	—	3
Dir.Grnt. Grm.Sch.	18	27	17	16	26	4	5	11	14	15	—	15
St.G.S.	59	33	55	60	53	44	74	57	64	64	83	59
Priv.or relg.	—	—	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	4	—	2
Sec.Mod.	6	7	4	—	—	4	—	—	7	2	—	2
Tech.High	-	7	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	17	1
Tech.Coll.	6	-	-	3	-	-	3	—	—	2	—	1
Total	101	101	99	101	100	100	100	101	99	101	100	100
No.	17	15	47	62	47	25	39	28	14	52	6	352

University /

University college, as has been mentioned above, was always quoted as the 'upper crust' college in which public schoolboys, Oxford rejects, and upper middle class gentlemen lived a life in certain respects more genteel than that of the average Durham student. Just to be labelled a 'Castle man' was entrée enough into all student circles and castlemen were in demand as partners at all social functions. 'Castle day' was the social event of the year and girls vied with each other to be invited. However, the statistical facts show a different picture. University college has approximately the same proportion of public school men as Hatfield - its nearest social rival, and although this proportion is slightly higher than that of the other mens' colleges, excluding mainly theological colleges, it has by far the highest proportion of State Grammar School people of any college, save Neville's Cross, the teacher training college. St. Aidan's college, and the two theological colleges, have the highest proportions of students from public schools - as high as 48 per cent in St. John's. The theological colleges rarely figure in any "social" assessment at all.

The same pattern appears in terms of social class except that University college is further down the list - with fewer upper middle class and more working class, even than St. Cuthbert's Society, which is reputed to be full of "drunken scruffs". This is indeed a case of image building which is founded on a perceived rather than an actual situation and which is internalised and perpetuated. Of course tradition and history have much to do with this, since University college was no doubt the home of sons of 'gentlemen' in the past - yet this does not account totally for the firm belief which students in general hold today. The "totemic" aspects of the "castle" itself help to perpetuate the image - so that people living or

dining within it live up to the standards they think it requires. This kind of enculturation is possible in a college, where there is a pressure to conform to the prevailing ethos. As we can see, University college has a fair proportion of working class students who were at public school. It would appear that they are a-typical and aspiring and are now perhaps more middle class even than the middle class themselves. Thus they are able in the nature of a 'self fulfilling'prophesy to live like the gentlemen they are thought to be. And who can say that they are not now such gentlemen?

St. Cuthbert's Society, which, on the other hand, is ranked socially low differs in another way from the perceived 'image' in that it is by no means a college of "working class loafers" as is generally supposed. St. Cuthbert's is non-residential, so that its members are in a better position to hold wild parties in digs and stay out late and get drunk. This they do in order to live up to the college 'name'. Members also pride themselves on being 'individuals', and are frequently good debaters and leaders of societies.

In each case, the social organisation encourages a certain kind of community life which, in turn, affects student attitudes and behaviour and indeed the whole concept of participation in student affairs.

If we look again at the figures on Newcastle residence in Table 48 (Appendix Table 56) we can see further the actual spatial organisation of the student body in terms of oecological distance.

Table 48 /

Table 48 Social class distribution in residence in different spatial areas of Newcastle

	U.M.C.%	L.M.C.%	W.C.%	Unclass.%	Total
Henderson Hall	11	7	1	-	7
Eustace Percy Hall	13	9	12	6	11
Ethel Williams Hall	3	7	4	6	5
Easton Hall	3	1	1	-	2
Univ. House	4	2	3	-	3
Whitley Bay	6	8	13	-	8
Jesmond	19	25	21	41	23
Outside Newcastle	11	11	18	6	12
Other Newcastle areas	31	30	27	41	30
Total	101	100	100	100	101
No.	199	280	124	26	629

The class distributions in different University halls are shown along with distributions in Jesmond, already mention, and other areas including Whitley Bay. This last mentioned represents the most socially and spatially distant and distinct area of University residence in which students band together to form a community of their own, separate from the University community in the city centre.

In fact, as we see from this table, 13 per cent working class students live in 'digs' or flats at Whitley Bay - compared with 6 per cent upper middle class and 8 per cent lower middle class. Another 18 per cent live outside Newcastle, often at home, compared with 11 per cent of both upper middle class and lower middle class students. These students are both socially and geographically separated from the middle class student body - who would most benefit from being "brought in" to the University community. For, as we have seen, the influence of 'propinquity' in overcoming latent social divisions cannot be discounted.

After /

After consideration of all the points so far raised one might frame the hypothesis that where and how students live will affect their degree of integration into student life, i.e., if they are centrally situated in a hall of residence where they immediately get to know many other students, they will feel more of an integral part of the student body than someone who is living in isolated digs. The formation of initial 'springboard' groups is pertinent here.

If one takes as an indication of participation in student affairs membership of one or more societies one obtains evidence to prove this hypothesis. In Edinburgh, 85 per cent of students living in 'digs' had been or were at the time of the survey member of one or more societies compared with 93 per cent in hostels and 70 per cent of students living at home.[1] The drop in proportion of students living at home who are now or have been member of one or more societies is an indication of the division of interests which living at home causes, mentioned earlier, and which prevents the student from entering fully into University life. Interviews in Newcastle and Durham confirmed this finding.

We have already seen in Chapter VI the social class pattern of participation in student affairs. When this is combined, as in the Edinburgh sample, with the residence distribution the patterns become more meaningful in the light of what has been said about the relation of spatial

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1. This kind of distribution has been found before. For example, see : Thoday, Doris, "Residence and education in civic Universities", Internat. Journal of Social Psychiatry, vol.4, no. 3, 1958. Findings that hall students in Birmingham University not only took a more active part in sports and societies but also more often read books outside their subject and had friends in other departments and faculties - accord with those of Marris, op. cit., on Leeds and Southampton Universities.

and social distance. (Please see Appendix Table 58).

We have seen how more people in Edinburgh in hostel join societies than do students in digs or at home (and indeed the higher overall level of participation in the Durham colleges would seem to corroborate this), and how the Scottish upper middle class in Edinburgh are most active in societies. It is therefore not surprising that the group which takes the most active part in societies is seen to be the Scottish upper middle class living in Hall - 100 per cent membership; 62.5 per cent leadership; - an example of the way in which the "influence of hall" may be "masked by other differences between students"[1]. (author's underlining).

That one cannot attribute Scottish 'reticence' too much to the school system is seen in the fact that a greater proportion of Scots working class living in 'digs' who are members of societies hold positions in them than do the English working class. Thus it would appear that residential factors outweigh certain cultural disadvantages.

Another indication of the influence of residence on group formation, though only vague at this stage, is shown by Table 49 (Appendix Table 59).

Table 49 /

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1. Marris, op. cit., p. 88. Marris poses a question - he does not attempt to examine what the differences might be.

Table 49 — Students whose friends are mainly in the same Faculty as themselves

(a) NEWCASTLE:

	Home	Hall	Digs	Total
Yes	68	33	53	50
No	32	67	47	50
Total	100	100	100	100
No.	117	168	344	629

(b) DURHAM:

(i) Friends of same sex mainly in own College:

	Bede	Chads	Cuths	Grey	Hatf.	St.J.	Univ.	St.A.	St.H.	St.M.	NX	Total
Yes	53	87	70	89	87	80	82	79	93	92	100	83
No	47	13	30	11	13	20	18	21	7	8	---	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(ii) Friends of opposite sex mainly in own Faculty:

Yes	42	20	64	35	28	16	28	21	50	33	50	35
No	58	80	36	65	72	84	72	79	50	67	50	65
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.	17	15	47	62	47	25	39	28	14	52	6	352

It is perhaps not surprising in the light of what was said initially about mixing in the different types of residence that in Newcastle a higher proportion of students live at home than in Hall or digs and have most of their friends in the same faculty - 68 per cent. This is presumably since because they interact mainly with fellow students during working hours

they know these particular students best. These need not necessarily be friends. Perhaps other students living at home would agree with the Newcastle student who said : "I wouldn't call the people I know at University friends - they're more acquaintances - people I work with - my real friends are at home".

Students with most friends outside their own Faculty live in Hall, which testifies to the 'mixing' outside work which Hall life promotes. This compares with Marris' findings that "students in lodgings at Cambridge did not differ from those in college - but at Leeds and Southampton residence in hall did encourage a wider choice of friends if not, perhaps, as much as expected".[1]

Not unexpectedly, 83 per cent of Durham students said that most of their friends of the same sex were in the same college, although this varied from college to college, and obviously with the size of the college. The mainly non-residential St. Cuthbert's Society and St. Bede's college had smaller proportions of students with most friends in their own college. The colleges with the highest proportions were those most spatially separate - Grey, St. Mary's, St. Hilda's, and Neville's Cross.

With regard to members of the opposite sex - quite a good 'control' group in a way - 35 per cent only said that most of their friends were members of the same faculty. Here again there were differences between colleges, with the two theological colleges ranking lowest. The highest proportion of students with most of their friends of the opposite sex in the same faculty as themselves was St. Cuthbert's Society. This again shows clearly that where students are less likely to meet in spatial/social

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1. Ibid., p. 76.

terms through residence (obviously applying to both sexes) they will turn increasingly to work contacts for friendship. This may account in other terms for the tendency of working class students to seek 'work' friendsin their own Faculty.

Table 50 (Please see Appendix Table 60)

Residential distribution of those who are influenced by social class in making friends (Newcastle)

(a) FEMALE STUDENTS:

(i) When making friends of same sex:

	Digs	Hall	Home	Total
Influenced	3	12	7	6
Not influenced	68	59	54	63
Poss. uncon.	29	29	39	31
Total	100	100	100	100

(ii) When making friends of opposite sex:

Influenced	8	16	14	11
Not influenced	58	47	39	52
Poss. uncon.	34	37	46	37
Total	100	100	99	100
No.	109	49	28	186

(b) MALE STUDENTS:

(i) When making friends of same sex:

Influenced	10	8	12	10
Not influenced	67	65	59	65
Poss. uncon.	24	27	29	26
Total	101	100	100	101

(ii) When making friends of opposite sex:

Influenced	20	13	24	19
Not influenced	50	54	37	49
Poss. uncon.	30	33	39	32
Total	100	100	100	100
No.	234	119	90	443

It is possible to see the effect which residential grouping in Newcastle has on class divisions in terms of choice of friends. Of female students those living in hall are most influenced by class in choice of friends - though more students living at home admit to being 'possibly unconsciously' influenced. The male distribution is slightly different, those living at home are most influenced (we must remember that a fair sprinkling of these are upper middle class), those living in hall least influenced, and it would appear that in this case spatial separation accentuates class consciousness as opposed to consciousness of being a student. It becomes apparent in this case as with so many other findings that social class distribution must be taken into account. Thus the more random the class distribution in this case the less class seems to matter.

We must ask also what the effect of residential distributions have upon the experience of the student both of 'student' and social class divisions. Suggestions of this have been made throughout the preceding chapters - that where the University brings together members of different social classes - whether at work or particularly in residence - although it may bring to the surface unconscious differences, it also helps some people to get rid of the imagined differences in the face of real ones.

Examples of the effect which spatial closeness has had on those who are socially distant from the predominantly middle class student body, especially in Edinburgh are too numerous to mention here, but it seems clear that most of the working class students living in halls of residence benefited greatly from the experience and were encouraged to "join in" fully in the social side of University life. This will be more fully discussed in Chapter XIII which deals with the assimilation and bourgeoisification of the working class students.

However, /

However, 'living together' is beneficial not only for working class students but for all who hold prejudiced views about "the others" whom in effect they have never met. And, by its very nature, the University is in a unique way able to bring together students of every social background. It is the greatest pity that it does not always succeed physically in this aim. For it would seem that through its residential organisation, particularly, it is able to accentuate or diminish existing social class divisions and the resulting consequences for student experience of University life.

Propinquity has been acknowledged to be one of the principal factors in the formation of social relationships. This would seem to operate not only between status equals but between members of different social classes. In other words, 'propinquity' may help to overcome social distance while physical distance may widen the existing social gap. Examples of this are found among the working class students living at home as compared with those living in hall; among working class students who felt socially cut off as a result of living in 'digs' far from the University; among lower middle class first generation University students who felt that even a limited experience of hostel life had helped them to overcome initial difficulties of assimilation into the student body.

In any situation of ambiguity about social class indices propinquity is an influential factor in the process of mixing, and will affect the mutual adaptation of social classes and the transmission of elements of social class culture. That certain students consciously or unconsciously realise this is seen in the fact that they often try to share a flat with the 'right kind' of person who will introduce them into a desirable network of social relationships; for the same reason they choose a flat in a

certain area; and certain groups have their own particular "nesting site" in the University precincts.

Yet the students who seem to realise least about the influence of propinquity and those who would most benefit from the knowledge are the working class students, for whom social and spatial distance are often allied.

All the findings discussed therefore would seem to show that spatial organisation is an important factor in student social relations, in work, leisure and residence, yet it is seen to operate almost indivisibly with social class factors to produce the student groups which do form and change. One cannot understand student groups or sub-cultures without a full comprehension of both the spatial and social factors at work.

Thus when Taylor calls for a study of student sub-cultures, their values and attitudes,[1] he overlooks the essential point that what often emerges is a social class sub-culture expressed no doubt in student terms, but owing its origins to the values and attitudes which students brought with them to the situation, as well as those they learnt when they got there.

Half the story is missing if the social class distribution in the different types of residence is not studied in conjunction with this - yet none of the studies of residence mentioned take this into account. 'Home ties' and 'locality ties' become more meaningful and understandable if they are set within the social class environment and culture, so that relationship to parents and peers is seen in true perspective.

Then spatial divisions may be seen to be working with or against social divisions in the formation and structure of formal and informal

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1. Taylor, op. cit.

Empirical observation combines with statistical analysis to suggest that these spatial divisions operate within each context of interaction on a continuum - from the siting of the University in the city; the spatial organisation of buildings within the University framework; the 'corridors' or stairs in Hall or College - the laboratory bench in the Department and so on in a series of interlocking space 'cells' which help to define the social situations within them.

As has been stressed, attributional classes within the University are more likely to become interactional classes or 'quasi-communities' within the University setting if they become concentrated in defined geographical areas or residential settings - and this process is a kind of self perpetuating one and one which has repercussions on the whole University experience.

It is true that perception of social class or residential groups may differ from the statistical norm - but this usually occurs in the face of the operation of yet further factors in student social relations. These one may call the cultural, as opposed to spatial factors, and these will be discussed in the next chapter - along with examples of how different combinations of cultural and spatial factors - in addition to social class - may affect students' perception of the situation at all levels of interaction.

CHAPTER X

Cultural Factors in Social Relations

In discussing socio-cultural factors which operate concomitantly with spatial factors in the formation of student groups we have to differentiate clearly between those operating within the institutional frame of reference, and those which owe the origins of their influence to aspects of external organisation. This would seem to make distinction between 'internal' and 'external' reference groups, and it is clear that the spheres in which they operate are delimited by the individual institutional framework. This last point will be discussed in the next chapter, along with the way in which the relationship of the institutional framework to external societal influences determines greatly the relative significance of the internal and external reference groups here outlined.

In each case one may see the membership group within the student body as being basically attributional, but referring to interactional groups outside the institution. The main groups to be considered are those based on 'school'; area of home residence (in geographical and cultural terms); and other cultural dimensions of social class not comprehended by the socio-economic categories - such as value systems based, for instance, on educo-cultural classes. One must also consider that sex differentials are a factor in these groupings where sex is a latent identity.

Under this heading also one may consider again student societies and organisation, which combine spatial and cultural factors in social relations. Indeed, one is always conscious in any such analysis of the

tremendous overlapping of groups and interrelation of factors - particularly the spatial and social - so that one is often dealing in reality with the dimension of social 'space'.

First, let us consider the factor of 'school' membership in students' social relations - not only in terms of 'type' of school, but also of particular schools. Some of the elements which 'schools' contribute in student social relations have been mentioned already but it is useful to summarise the various aspects all together.

The importance of 'school' groups was something which first began to emerge in the Edinburgh survey - so we will consider this first. For it became apparent, quite by chance, that students often confused 'class consciousness' with consciousness of being public or grammar school people, and confused class divisions with the same school differences. Thus it became important to enquire about 'school' divisions in the later surveys as being very relevant factors in students' social relations. Perhaps this is because 'school' membership is an attribute of the student himself - it is both a mark of 'achievement' and of 'ascription'[1] - it is an inalienable 'mark' which he carries round with him. This contrasts with social class of origin in terms of parental occupation which is most comprehensible and relevant in the home environment. School membership represents an 'independent' attribute which nevertheless carries with it complex marks of status.

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1. As used by Linton, Ralph, The Study of Man : an Introduction. London, D. Appleton - Century Co., 1936, p. 115.

In interview many students who considered that there is much class consciousness in the student body, based their criticism on prejudices which they said exist between students from different schools, i.e., Public and Fee-Paying Schools and Grammar and Senior Secondary Schools (in the Scottish context). One of the Edinburgh students said: "I think there is a good bit of class consciousness, especially among students from the Edinburgh Public Schools. They tend to stick together in groups and this makes others stick together in groups".[1] Another said: "From my own experience I think there is more class consciousness even than in society. Perhaps it is more obvious in student life because we are all roughly of the same age and intelligence, so it cuts across. I think the type of school one goes to is important - one tends to group together with others from the same school or type of school. This is true of Halls of Residence where the Warden accepts people from a certain school. There is some hostility to "Public School types" which is quite widespread. I was the only Public School boy in my digs and I found it uncomfortable".

This latter quote shows that school divisions can operate both for the individual and against. It will be seen that the kind of social class consciousness and/or prejudice criticised by the two students differs from that criticised by students in Chapter VII - such as is exemplified by one Scottish working class student. This student came from a small rural community where he said that: "The differences between people are created by their intrinsic worth and the skills which they acquire, so that a

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1. Marris found that "the students chose most of their friends not only from the same faculty but also from the same academic year and school background as themselves". Marris, op. cit., p. 77.

man may work himself up through the hierarchy". However, he said that at University the situation is very different.

"The criteria used are so artificial that it doesn't matter what you are like underneath as long as you assume middle class traits and keep up the pretence, with others who are also pretending, you can get on - but of course certain ways are blocked to certain people". At length he admitted : "This life is pretty awful, but life in society at large is worse".

It is important to note that the social class reference group which influenced this student's attitude differed in some ways from the majority in that it was based on rural status groups in a fairly closed community.[1] This brings us to the point, considered later, of the way in which the external point of reference influences the perception of the internal situation.

Nevertheless, it is useful to compare the attitude of this student with those made on school divisions. The working class student criticised students who exhibit prejudice against students of different social class backgrounds, while the two upper middle class students criticised also divisions within the upper middle class. It will be seen that the 'school' divisions cut across the social classes in some cases and in such cases obscure other differences in social class background.

With reference to the other two Universities, it might be pertinent to consider whether the factor of 'school' becomes increasingly relevant in situations of relative social class homogeneity (as in middle

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1. For discussion of rural-urban continuum moving from interactional to attributional social class see Plowman, D.E.G., Minchinton, W.E., and Stacey, M., "Local Status in England and Wales", Sociol. Rev. 10, 161-202, July, 1962.

class sections of Edinburgh) and less relevant in relatively heterogeneous social class situations where existing divisions are more significant. It will be seen in fact that 'school' divisions are less important in Durham than in Edinburgh and slightly less important than either in Newcastle, although this varies with context.

Eight of the 32 students interviewed in Edinburgh said that there is a good deal of class consciousness in certain groups. In all 8 cases the groups referred to were based on certain schools or types of school. Five of the students were upper middle class, two working class and one lower middle class. Some of these groups were located in certain faculties. The Medical Faculty was mentioned most often.

Twelve students said that "there is not much class consciousness" in the student body and of these, 7 mentioned the different attitudes inbred in different schools. Of the nine students who said that there is no class consciousness at all, an upper middle class student said that there might be certain school groups which proved the exception.

This shows that in 18 out of the 32 interviews schools were mentioned as a possible source of class consciousness. Even in other interviews they were mentioned at least as a factor in the formation of groups of some kind. This seems a high proportion, and along with further conversation and participant observation would seem to indicate the overall importance of this distinction in the student body. Of the 19 mentioned, 8 students were Scottish, 9 English and 1 American; 11 were upper middle class, 5 lower middle class and 2 working class. Perhaps the working class students do not so often come into contact with "Public School types", or

perhaps for them the social class divisions are based on different criteria.

Naturally, the type of school which students had attended was seen to be closely connected with their whole way of life and a number of easily recognisable characteristics. Like occupation in society at large, it stands as an indicator of a whole range of indices intimately connected. For example, those who had been to Public School were thought to possess a certain accent, manner of dressing, a good deal of money and certain tastes and attitudes. These marked them off from "Grammar School types" who were also believed to be easily recognisable.

An English upper middle class male student said: "Those who went to Public School tend to group together because of the school, not their social class background - though of course it might be correlated with background. They have a genuine feeling of superiority born of the knowledge of the value of their education. They also have interests in common".

A Scottish female lower middle class student said: "In the fee-paying schools people are encouraged to take part in a variety of school activities so that students coming from these schools are willing to accept responsibility more readily without reward than are Grammar School people".

Another English upper middle class male student said: "The difference between those who go to a fee-paying school and an ordinary school in England lies in the difference in broadness of outlook. At Public School one is encouraged to do things outside one's work. One hears the phrase "character building" - but this could have a basis in fact.

The /

The differences which students felt to exist between students from different types of school were often developed almost into stereotypes.[1] This probably springs at least partly from the fact that the spatial organisation of the Universities, discussed in the last chapter, tends to keep separate the different types of school groups so that judgement is made without personal experience of the matter. A typical remark was, "Well you see I just wouldn't have anything in common with someone from a Grammar School. Whereas we were encouraged to play sport, enter into school activities outside work and take on responsibility, people from Grammar Schools seem not to be interested in these things. Where I would go to a concert a grammar school person would go to a pub or a cinema". The remark about the concert-going was quoted several times - not only in interview. It seems to be a stock example.

Students from grammar schools and ordinary Scottish senior secondary schools also voiced generalisations about "Public School types". "The Public School types are all snobs. They sit together in the Refectory and talk loudly in 'U' accents, and think that they are lords of creation".

This question of accents as an important social class indicator will be raised later in the chapter.

Another quote which again illustrates the geographical bases of groups is : "The Public School types who go to the Refectory seem to think that people who go to the Common Room are absolute riff-raff".

In this case the 'image' of the eating place is eventually fulfilled in terms of the 'kind' of students using it.

The /

1. Marris suggests that "students are sometimes afraid of each other and protect themselves by identifying stereotypes to avoid, or retreat into neutral topics". Marris, op. cit., p. 119.

The upper middle class American interviewed remarked on the feeling of the importance of going to the right school which had struck him on coming to Scotland. He said a great deal of social prestige seemed to be attached to going to certain schools. He had been surprised when other parents had said to him of his small son : "Where are you going to send him to school?", as he hadnot thought it mattered much. He said that the matter of getting their children to the right schools is very worrying to a 'certain class of parents' as far as he could see.

This throws interesting light from a different angle on the 'school' divisions perceived by students. A further sidelight is added by a student studying for a postgraduate Mental Health Diploma. She said that : "There seems to be a stigma attached to not being of sufficient intelligence to get into certain schools. There is great parent participation in homework in order to help the children to pass their exams. Academic progress is a great mark of success. Sometimes the children cannot stand up to the pressures which are put upon them and are referred to the psychiatric unit. Often the parents cannot face the implications of what they are doing. Most of the parents I have come across are middle class. There is both academic and social advancement in getting into certain schools".

This respondent stressed that one must not draw conclusions from the few examples that she knew of since they naturally tended to be the exceptions. However, it does add to the general picture which has been created by other data. These latter remarks are concerned with the Scottish school system rather than the English.

Indeed, /

Indeed, it may well be that school divisions in Edinburgh are more relevant in student social relations partly because of the different school system in which there is a wider range of fee-paying schools than in the English setting. The situation may also owe something to the fact that academic excellence, so long a matter of pride and prestige among Scots, in terms of present processes of selection is easily translatable into a matter of social status.

It is important to note also that in the Scottish situation attendance at one particular University is far more often a matter of school tradition than in any of the English Universities outside 'Oxbridge'. In this way one may find large numbers of students from the same school coming up to University together - and forming a primary reference group in consequence.

It was said by some students that they intended to stay with the people they had come up with from school all through University. This is no doubt why certain students stated that "One's circle of friends" or "friends you come up with determine your social standing in the student body". In the light of what has been discussed in the previous chapter of the way in which first groups formed on 'coming up' are of crucial importance in a student's life, this attitude becomes more comprehensible.

Cliques from various schools are formed apparently among students from the ordinary senior secondary schools as well as among those from public schools. This may lead to Scottish working class students, for example, never really meeting anyone outside the group from his old school. One Scottish working class student said he had gone into hostel for that very reason because he wanted to meet more people and enjoy University social life.

This student unconsciously realised that the controls of the peer group from the same home background are as restricting within the University environment as they are when links are maintained with them in the home 'locality'. They bring the peer group culture with them - representing resistance to the change which University can bring about.

Although most of what has been said about the Edinburgh University context applies also to the other two Universities on this point - it is of a more limited relevance. Even in Edinburgh it was admitted that the operation of school factors was limited to certain sections of the student population. These factors are more apparent in halls of residence and 'professional' faculties where there is spatial concentration of other cultural groups - and this would remain true in the other two Universities. The absence of a Medical Faculty in Durham may account to some extent for decreased relevance of 'school' divisions, particularly among the middle class. However, in the context of certain colleges, it is seen to be a relevant factor in social relations.

This brings us once again to the observation that where spatial and cultural concentrations coincide - as in school and residence, for instance - an attribute becomes interactional in terms of a 'group' with which students can positively identify, with the growth of collective representations which this implies.

We saw in the last chapter how public school students are definitely concentrated in certain forms of residence in all three Universities, and in Newcastle, in certain areas of the city even, and even within particular halls of residence. Thus the 'school' attribute comes to have

interactional meaning. Where such a cultural group is either assimilated or its difference is tressed in these terms. That 'school' is definitely correlated with social class is in no doubt - witness Table No. 10 (Appendix Table 14) in Chapter IV. In Newcastle, 71 per cent of all public school people were of the upper middle class and 31 per cent lower middle class. Perhaps where 'school' and 'class' more nearly coincide the school division becomes more relevant in certain student circles, i.e., these attributes are differentially weighted in different contexts. The largest proportion of state grammar school people in each University were of the lower middle class - 51 per cent Newcastle and 49 per cent Durham. However, if one takes 'public' and 'direct grant' schools together, a higher proportion of upper middle class students in Durham fall into this category than in Newcastle - 57 per cent as opposed to 45 per cent - quite a significant difference. And in itself this kind of difference may affect student groupings in that it represents a school/class culture which adds another dimension to the student social class composition. This overlapping and overlaying of different dimensions of social class will be referred to later in the chapter.

Differences emerge constantly between males and females in terms of class and school composition so that in a sense 'sex' itself becomes yet another social factor in student social relations with important implications for the formation of student groups. Indeed, as we have seen in consideration of influence of social class in choice of friends, sex is an attribute which is differentially weighted in different situations - its relevance varies with situation, and where it is combined with social class it influences the relevance of <u>that</u> attribute. This is particularly true because of the high degree of visibility of the sex attribute. The

implications of this analysis of the cultural and status dimensions of sex are not examined in the thesis, but demand further study. In some situations it is quite possible that the 'student' attribute outweighs that of sex - particularly in the context of academic work which is the most 'student' activity of all student activities and also has its highly visible indicators. The examination of the relevance of sex in social relations would demand as much vigorous research as that devoted to social class for it well may be that in some contexts sex differentials outweigh those of class. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence at this point to discuss this further here.

The way in which students tend to confuse 'school' and 'class' indices may be seen in an analysis of the Newcastle distribution of schools in terms of where students live.

Table 51 (Appendix Table 61)

School distribution in areas of University Residence in Newcastle

	Public	Dir.Gr.	State G.S.	Priv.	Sec. Mod.	Tech. High	Tech. Coll.	Total
Henderson	10	5	6	6	-	-	13	7
E.P.	15	2	12	13	14	-	6	11
E.W.	1	7	6	6	-	-	-	5
Easton	3	-	2	6	-	-	-	2
Univ.Hse.	1	7	2	-	14	11	-	3
Whitley Bay	1	5	9	13	29	22	13	8
Jesmond	27	12	24	13	14	22	25	23
Outside New.	14	21	11	6	--	22	9	12
Other New. Areas	27	42	28	38	29	22	34	30
Total	99	101	100	101	100	99	100	101
No.	102	59	370	19	12	23	44	629

In the last chapter it was seen that a bias in terms of social class of origin existed in the male halls of residence. This was described by students in terms of them being "half full of public schoolboys". In fact, Table 51 (Appendix Table 61) shows that the halls are nowhere near half full of public schoolboys, and indeed that the proportion of public school boys is not much larger in Henderson than Eustace Percy - 35 per cent Public, Direct Grant and Private in Henderson; 30 per cent in Eustace Percy (from Appendix Table). However, we have seen how Eustace Percy Hall has more lower middle class and working class students - so it would seem that in some cases 'public school' is syonymous for some students with 'upper middle class'. Certainly divisions are blurred or erroneously applied in situations of ambiguity - although there is often more overlap than would at first appear.

We saw, for instance, in the last chapter how in Newcastle a higher proportion of working class than middle class students are found accommodation in Whitley Bay. This picture is even more clearly defined in terms of 'schools' as Table 51 again shows: 29 per cent 'Secondary Modern'; 22 per cent Technical High; 13 per cent Technical College and 9 per cent State Grammar live at Whitley Bay, compared with 1.4 per cent Public School and 5 per cent Direct Grant - which does not correspond at all to the proportions in the total student body. If this then represents a grouping in spatial terms of culturally compatible students, then it would appear that 'school' may be a more meaningful indicator of 'culture' class than occupation of father.

Table 52 /

Table 52 (Appendix Table 62) shows the 'schools' distribution in the various faculties and again shows interesting if at first unexpected concentrations.

Table 52 — School distribution in the Faculties of Newcastle University

	Public	Dr. Grt.	State G.S.	Priv.	Sec. Mod.	Tech. High	Tech. Coll.	Total
Arts (inc. Arch)	17	32	27	42	17	26	5	24
Law	5	7	1	—	—	—	-	2
Medicine	12	14	10	11	—	22	9	11
Dentistry	7	9	4	—	8	4	-	5
Agric.	8	2	5	5	—	—	9	5
App.Sci.	25	14	12	5	25	30	52	18
Pure Sci.	17	15	34	16	50	13	20	28
Educ.	—	3	2	5	—	—	2	2
Econ. and Soc.St.	10	5	4	16	—	4	2	5
Total	101	101	99	100	100	99	99	100
No.	102	59	370	19	12	23	44	629

As many as 25 per cent public school are concentrated in Applied Science. This bears out what was said in the last chapter about this 'local' public school element who came to do practicalsubjects in a local University partially because they saw it as less strenuous a training than other alternatives. Public school people with Technical College education most often put Newcastle as first choice, perhaps because of courses offered. The other 'school' groups with high proportions in Applied Science are as one might expect, Secondary Modern, Technical High and Technical College. Perhaps the fact that these different 'schools' groups cut across both Arts and Science accounts for some of the lack of Arts/Sciences split in

Newcastle. Other cohesive factors override this division.

It may be seen in other faculties too that 'school' distributions sometimes blur the social class concentrations in various faculties. This must make for greater cohesion of cross cutting work groups and act towards the decreasing relevance of social class.

In fact, it would seem that by virtue of the 'shatterbelt zone'[1] of reference groups which exist in Newcastle no one factor is able to dominate to the exclusion or dimunition of all others, i.e., the weighting of different factors tends to cancel each other out. This applies to social class. It is where other factors support and therefore reinforce existing social class divisions that choice of groups is limited for the students and social class is increasingly relevant. So that where different cultural groupings share common boundaries with social class they tend to accentuate the relevance of social class.

Before we go on to a discussion of other <u>cultural</u> factors in students' social relations, it is interesting to note what some students said in interview of the influence of school divisions in student groups in both Durham and Newcastle.

A Durham student said that although he personally favoured comprehensive schools, it was true that public schools "breed a different type of person. Public school people have confidence and can express themselves better than the average grammar school person. Perhaps it has something to do with giving responsibility through the prefectional system. Of

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1. Term used in urban ecology literature to describe certain functional sectors of towns. It is used here in the social rather than physical sense.

course, no doubt grammar school boys could also get these qualities".

This remark is typical of many Durham students' attitudes that types of school 'breed' different types of person - but that this does not necessarily bring them into conflict. They tend to group together but this is seen as 'natural' and not a cause for concern. Nor are the divisions which schools create seen as rigid, and there is mixing between the groups.

The general attitude and behaviour differs from that found in Newcastle where the feelings of many are typified by the following remark :-

> "Before I came here I would never have dreamed of talking to anyone from public school with a posh accent. The accent put my back up. But now I have got to know one or two, I realise it is just natural to them".

This student was anxious to show how student community life (he lived in Hall) had dispelled many of his previous misconceptions regarding "the public school lot". Unfortunately, many students do not have the opportunity to have their misconceptions and prejudices dispelled by the experience brought by contact - and this applied to all groups. Here is another example of this from an Edinburgh student :-

> "I thought Grammar school boys were the scum of the earth until I met some this year".

This particular student said that his public school had encouraged him in his prejudice and it had been quite a shock to him to find out "what decent chaps some of the grammar school people are".

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It will be seen in some of these remarks what was found to be generally true among students that accent is taken to be one of the main indicators of 'school' and 'social class'. Very few students in any of the three Universities said that accent does not matter at all, and many said that it matters more among students than it does in the outside world. The reason for this is that students when abstracted from the home environment leave many class 'clues' behind so that attributes which indicate class membership are more personalised - like dress, 'manners', values and particularly speech.[1] Basil Bernstein's hypothesis is not without relevance in this context for it was often made clear that accent alone is not a clear indicator of background but that speech forms and vocabulary and expression are. Students spoke of 'educated language' and said that it mattered more to speak 'like an educated person' than to speak with a completely accentless voice. To some extent, this language is something which all students are in a position to adopt - but this is a sign of 'bourgeoisification' which as we shall see by no means happens automatically. Those who do adopt an 'educated language' can 'pass' into the group by which they wish to be accepted, as long as they also demonstrate certain other class 'clues' - particularly in terms of interests already mentioned and certain aspects of behaviour.

Accent was mentioned most often as a class indicator in Edinburgh. This may be because the variety of English and Scottish accents makes discrimination in placing people more fine, although this varies across the 'national' division, i.e., a Scottish student, particularly working class,

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1. Plowman, Minchinton and Stacey, op. cit., p. 195 : "Migration will necessitate a more attributional means of placing status since many newcomers can be placed at first only by outward signs". (Author's underlining).

will be able to discriminate only crudely between the variety of English accents. This applies also to English students with no ear for 'U' and 'non U' Scottish accents, although in the English context Scottish accents are more acceptable than, for instance, a North of England accent. The matter is further complicated by the fact the upper middle class Scots tend to adopt an "anglicised" accent as a sign of their class position, especially as many have been to public school, often to English public schools. Thus, although accents may matter more the situation is rather confused and as a result students may be wrongly 'placed' in terms of social class by other students. We have already seen in Chapter VI how the middle class English who run all the societies, according to the working class Scots, turn out to be upper middle class Scots with English accents.

In Durham and Newcastle accents are more easily placed so that in a sense trying to change one's accent is less easy and convincing and fewer people than in Edinburgh admitted to trying to lose their regional accent.

This brings us to the point where one can see that it is very easy to confuse, as do the students, 'regional' accents with social class indices. Not only is there a feeling that the stronger the accent the lower the class, but also that the particular accent itself is in some way a mark of social position. Northern accents are, for instance, seen as 'lower' in status than Southern accents - so that there is ranking not only in terms of degree but of kind. Much may be seen as good humoured North/South rivalry and yet underlying this is something of a more serious note, and which is an important factor in the formation of student groups.

One often hears of students from London being assumed to be upper middle class and those from the North being perceived as working class - in keeping with the "Coronation Street" image which goes with a Northern accent. Students have shown, too, that regional differences may initially separate students and similarities may draw them together.

Thus, accent is seen as a crucial indicator because it is seen to represent social class in a dual way, and to refer to two sets of multi-dimensional groupings located both spatially and socially on a status continuum. In different situations and contexts the social and spatial elements are differentially weighted. In Newcastle, for instance, the stress is predominantly on 'locality', i.e., the spatial rather than the social - so that these reference groups operate but are seen as different kinds of reference groups. Thus less social 'stigma' is attached to a heavy regional accent. Durham represents the midway case where spatial and social reference groups are increasingly interchangeable. In Edinburgh, the social dimension of this particular continuum is particularly stressed, so that in Edinburgh an accent is taken more than in Newcastle as an indication of position on a social rather than a spatial scale. In other words, the situational space is more clearly defined in Edinburgh by the coincidence of spatial and social concentrations, for students' social class composition tends to correspond closely to their geographical composition. In Newcastle, a high proportion of 'locals' are of 'high' social class.

This observation has important relevance for social class as a factor in student social relations in that where it is obscured or overlaid by these various other factors and dimensions and where its indicators are

not uniquely defined there is a tendency for cultural operations of social class to be perceived as operations of other factors. Thus, social class is seen to be, at least superficially, less relevant. This would seem to be true in its different applications to the three Universities studied.

In that the reference group of 'locality' is taken to be something distinct and real in terms of the students' experience one must come to the conclusion that different cultural areas exist and have extensive influence in the student body. Students from the South have already been quoted as saying how they feared to go to University in the North, and how despite having certain prejudices removed they perceive it as totally different from the South. If we look again at the distribution of students' home residence in Appendix Table 24, we can see how this kind of perceived and actual cultural difference may have different effects in different Universities. As we have already seen Newcastle is a more 'local' University than Durham and Edinburgh is in a sense more cosmopolitan than the other two. One may readily see how this kind of distinction has its influence on the total 'image' of the University, i.e., the most Northern and 'local' University in the light of what has been discussed, is seen as the most working class. This is compatible with all other findings.

As we have seen in Newcastle, the upper middle class is largely 'local' whereas in Durham and to some extent in Edinburgh, the upper middle class is drawn largely from the South, particularly London and the Home Counties. In Newcastle, 41 per cent of the upper middle class has home residence in County Durham and Northumberland, while 14 per cent are drawn from Lancashire and Yorkshire, and 7 per cent from other Northern counties. This compares with 30 per cent from all Southern counties. In Durham,

however, 48 per cent of upper middle class students come from London and the South compared with 44 per cent from Northern counties. Of those from the North only 11 students were from Northumberland and County Durham.

In Durham and Edinburgh the greater coincidence of boundaries of spatial and social status concentrations tends to underline the influence of social class, whereas in Newcastle social status redefined in spatial terms leads to a generally reduced influence. Students themselves realise the close relation of social class and spatial divisions. One clear example of this is the way in which the most socially aspiring students travel to University far away from home in order to express geographically a social move. This is particularly true of the a-typical English working class students in Edinburgh - to be discussed in Chapter XIII on social mobility.

It is easy to recognise differences in behaviour and attitude in different geographical areas and to understand how these form the basis of certain student reference groups, particularly in terms of common interests. Even school systems differ in different areas and this must surely affect the student's cultural background. It is important to note that since they represent certain cultural areas it may be suggested that different geographical areas therefore exhibit not only differences in class composition, but also differences in <u>kind</u> of social class or stress on different dimensions. In other words, both factors of association and indicators of factors may differ in different geographical areas, and these may influence student groupings in terms of their particular external point of reference. This is worth further analysis. However, certain findings would seem to indicate that at least this is partially true - although research would have to be done to define each particular case.

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An indication of the point made is that in terms of educo-cultural classes Newcastle seems to be undergoing a greater expansion of educational opportunity than either Durham or Edinburgh. Although 80 per cent of students in both Newcastle and Durham are first generation University students compared with 63 per cent in Edinburgh, there is a higher proportion of students' parents in Newcastle who have not been educated beyond the age of 14 than in Durham. One could almost say that the socio-economic classes of students' parents in Durham and Newcastle are intrinsically of a different type, and that what is being experienced in Newcastle is the impact of the "new" middle class - the Northern self-made managerial and white collar workers of comparatively low educational level - compared with the "professional" middle classes in which the socio-economic and educo-cultural classes coincide. If we look at a further breakdown of the social class of the three Universities in these terms the differing degrees of "middle classness" emerge.

Table lx

	Edinburgh %	Durham %	Newcastle %
Professional	31	21	16
Managerial and white collar	52	54	60
Manual	15	21	20
Unclassified	2	4	4
Total %	100	100	100
No.	322	352	629

This /

This kind of dimension has obvious relevance for student social class relations in that the social class reference group may vary with context. Educo-cultural factors and value systems alone may have more relevance in certain student situations, and obviously do, than socio-economic factors - particularly since we have shown that students are largely abstracted from socio-economic clues. Thus, this kind of social class composition may have more relevance than that based on the dimension of occupational status. Only trial and error can discover this - along with comparisons of students <u>own</u> class models and reference groups. These will be discussed in Chapter XII.

Suffice it to say at this point that social class is not only a multiple reference group, but may comprehend within it a <u>series</u> of multiple reference groups; it is an attribute in a whole configuration of <u>attributes</u>. In an educational setting such as a University 'educational' class would seem to be very important. For instance, 'first generation' divisions tend to some extent to cut across socio-economic classes and this may act as a cohesive factor, although as we have seen only under certain "conditions".

Indeed, where in a 'shatterbelt zone' of reference groups identities cross-cut there is more cohesion of the larger contextual group than in one where a series of group identities tend to overlap and coincide and become interchangeable. We see examples of the two extremes in Edinburgh and Newcastle with Durham in the middle - but only again in terms of certain defined situations. Another feature of this 'interrelationship' which must not be forgotten is the strength of links of internal and external reference groups which depends on the degree of separation of the institution from its external setting. This final factor in student social relations is discussed in the next chapter.

We have now discussed the main spatial and cultural factors in students' social relations and the way in which they define the situational space in which social class varies in relevance in different University contexts. It must be made clear nevertheless that the factors outlined set limits but do not determine the interaction of students and formation of student groups, as has been explained in Chapter VIII. What happens at the interpersonal level in terms of definition of situation and attribute selection requires separate study.

One might summarise that the factors described operate in such a way that students' social relations are structured in terms of the size, 'nature' (i.e., other overlapping dimensions) and degree of contact of the particular groups of which they are members or to which at any time they refer, and the way in which the groups and clustered variables are associated.

Naturally, one cannot eliminate entirely social relations which are based on 'chance' and 'interest' - yet in a sense they are comprehended by the present definition and fall into the areas of spatial and social concentration and 'potential' contact areas. Again, they are delimited, yet are not defined by these conditions. For people only group in terms of 'interest' when their relation to one another is not legally defined.[1] In that all are 'students' it would appear superficially that no association is defined. What the last two chapters have tried to show is that within the conditions set by certain factors, in fact relations are patterned and regulated by students themselves.

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1. Bendix, R. In discussion at conference on 'Social Change and the Industrial Revolution', Edinburgh University, March 20th, 1965.

It will be clear that the 'student membership' group, to a student, comprehends a multiplicity of roles and reference groups within it, of which a major factor is social class. "Student group" and "student culture" is only meaningful when we study the relation of the institution to its external environment, and to the promulgation of group solidarity among students by interaction and activity in which the outside populace cannot share. The opportunity for this kind of activity varies with the institution so that different degrees of 'studentness' are generated in different institutional contexts. These are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XI

Institutional Framework and External Environment

In the previous two chapters factors have been discussed which operate in students' social relations with each other, i.e., in the context in which 'student' *per se* is not a meaningful social category to students themselves. We now turn to the contexts in which 'student' *is* a meaningful category in social relations and these will be seen to vary with the relationship which the 'student body' as a whole has with those who are *not* students. The category of non-students will be seen to comprehend those who are *not* students within the institutional framework, i.e., academic and administrative University staff, and those who are not students *outside* the institutional framework. These groups represent different degrees of non-studentness which regulate the degree of corporateness in student interaction. We could describe this in Banton's terms as a situation of "structural opposition"[1], in which those groups which are structurally opposed are conscious of their own special identity.

We shall study ways in which this kind of structural opposition increases 'student' corporateness to a greater or lesser degree, and the way in which specifically and traditionally "student" occasions act in a totemic way to encourage the growth of 'student' collective representations, or specifically student culture.

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1. Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Another feature of this kind of 'structural opposition' is the way in which the degree of separateness of the institution from its external social setting allows it to cut off, as it were, external divisions and establish its own kind of divisions and status ranking.

In considering first the relations of students with those who are not students outside the institutional framework, it is clear that the degree of structural opposition of these two categories as groups and the amount of interaction between them will be limited by the degree of institutional separateness from its social setting and its consequent sense of identity and common sentiment.

We have already seen how Edinburgh and Newcastle Universities are set in the very heart of the city and that because the University buildings are scattered and few people "live in", students constantly mix unavoidably with ordinary townspeople. Not only do they meet them to and from 'work' on public transport and in the street, but by virtue of actually living amongst them in scattered groups in digs and flats, students of necessity participate in the life of the actual community in which they are placed. In their daily visits to shops and places of entertainment and so on they are 'citizens' as well as 'students' and in many ways undistinguishable from other young people of their age group. This is especially true in that they are not required to wear any identification in terms of badge or dress. In Edinburgh, a few years ago, undergraduates tried to revive the custom of wearing the traditional undergraduate 'red' gown to lectures and through the streets of Edinburgh. The "revival" collapsed after a short time as many students refused to wear the gown. Reasons given were those of 'impracticability' in laboratories, or bikes, or

on public transport - but the deeper reason, it would seem, was that the red gown clearly indicated and thus appeared to foster a structural opposition of groups which outside the University precincts students did not want or feel able to encourage. "Studentness" as expressed by a red gown was not meaningful to them. In the light of what we know about the fragmentation of Edinburgh student life and groups, this is understandable.

In Newcastle, too, a recent referendum on gown wearing decided in favour of the status quo. The present position is that gowns are worn on ceremonial occasions in certain 'traditional' departments and on certain councils, for example, the M.S.C. Otherwise, undergraduates do not wear gowns.

A different case is that of scarves, for students in general seem to welcome the scarf as a badge of "belonging" both inside and outside the institution. Perhaps it is a welcome substitute for the gown in that it is a less 'blatant' indicator and its true significance is often only known to the initiated. To the ignorant it might be just another scarf. But to members of another faculty, college, University and so on, it is an easily recognisable "clue". It is at once unobtrusive enough and yet noticeable enough to be noted by only those who should note it. A scarf also usually identifies one with a smaller unit than the University - such as a college or a faculty - so that it symbolises a group with which the student is able consciously to identify - i.e., which is meaningful to him. And in a sense in terms of structural opposition it is meaningful in a wider range of relationships than is a gown. For a red undergraduate's gown in Scotland or a black in England is symbolic only of being a student, not even of a particular institution, and since nowadays 'student' no

longer implies uniformity of life style and life chances - it is a group[1] (category) with which it is increasingly difficult to identify.

It is usually the custom for first year students eagerly to buy a scarf upon coming up and to discontinue wearing it in their later years. This may be due to a number of changing circumstances. Firstly, the student internalises his group identity so that he needs no clues to show others; also he feels that he should know others of the 'student' group without being shown. As disillusionment with 'student' life progresses and the student looks forward to life <u>after</u> University, he resents being always regarded as a student and welcomes taking on the more defined role of "citizen". He may therefore get rid of as many 'student' clues as possible. This process begins at different times for different students. In fact, some dislike being thought of as 'students' almost from coming to University.

We have described Edinburgh and Newcastle as being closely related in the external setting. However, Newcastle manages to preserve the 'student' category in a sense more often than Edinburgh in that whereas Edinburgh is spatially and socially fragmented in terms of residence and work, Newcastle gives the impression of some kind of 'campus life' during the day. This centrality has not long been in existence so its operations in terms of social relations have not truly taken effect. However, during "working" hours the structural opposition of student and non-student is more evident during the day in Newcastle than in Edinburgh. The degree of intensity of this relationship does not necessarily imply <u>good</u>

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1. Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C. (eds.) : <u>From Max Weber - Essays in Sociology</u> (Internat. Lib. of Sociol. and Soc. Reconstr). Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. Fifth impression, 1964, p. 300.

relationships for it is often the case that great animosity exists between town/gown in Newcastle - worse than the author had ever experienced elsewhere. This may result from the fact that 'student' is a meaningful category to townspeople and that the associations are not always pleasant, especially in terms of residence experience. This applies particularly to areas of spatial concentration as in Jesmond. This being so, the student 'label' implies a multidimensional social group. This is less true in Edinburgh where the student body is so amorphous that the main way of categorising a student is one "who is studying". As the Scots are very education conscious to be a student to them confers status and prestige - so that relations between town/gown on the whole are particularly cordial. Of course tradition and ancient prestige have much to do with this - and Newcastle is still seeking to establish itself.

It is worth noting that one of the few ways in which structural opposition of student/non-student is expressed in Edinburgh and Newcastle, particularly the former, is actually in the performance of academic work. For in the lecture hall, tutorial room or laboratory the student is as much aware of being a student as at any other time, possibly more so than in most other situations. Thus, the 'place' where the student interacts with others, as a student, in activity in which those outside the University cannot share, becomes associated for him with a special pattern of identities. This gives rise to growth of a departmental or faculty 'culture' or collective representations, which marks it off for the student who 'belongs' from the other sections of the University, and gives to the category 'student' its own peculiar significance.

Durham /

Durham is unlike both Edinburgh and Newcastle in that its residential set up, and also its distribution of buildings, keeps it largely separate as an institution from the town itself. Most of the students eat, live and work within the institution itself, and since entertainment in Durham is limited, their leisure time is separate too. Thus, in many ways students are "cut off" from ordinary contact with townspeople, and in consequence the townsfolk show a remarkable lack of knowledge about the various colleges and their doings. This is in direct contrast to Edinburgh where local shopkeepers and places of entertainment almost keep their calendar by University terms and know exactly when graduations, rectorials and rags take place.

The separation is conscious in Durham, as it is thought that the development of student "esprit de corps" is good for work and discipline. In consequence of this defined structural opposition students in Durham are very conscious, when in the town, of being students, and they are pleased to demonstrate their studentness in various ways. All Durham students wear black undergraduate gowns to lectures and formal meals in college, and in the street they either wear them or casually sling them over their shoulders. However casually they are worn they are still an obvious and inalienable sign of being a 'student'. Scarves, too, tend to proliferate.

"Scarves are not worn as one might suppose merely to keep the neck warm" said one Durham student somewhat haughtily.

Relations between town and gown are therefore defined and somewhat distant. But for the townspeople the category 'student' is obviously meaningful in a variety of different ways.

The way in which 'student' as a structurally defined category is meaningful both to those inside and outside the institution depends not only on informal interaction such as that circumscribed by the exigencies of everyday life, but also by those 'formal' or 'totemic' occasions on which the students can demonstrate both to themselves and to others their group solidarity. These occasions take the form of 'rag' or 'charities' weeks, rectorial elections, graduations, freshers conferences or any ceremonial occasion on which students and non-students meet. Shows for the public, boating regattas and so on are also included in this category.

A topical example of the effect of these academic 'occasions' upon the members of the University itself is provided by the recent academic protest in the United States about aspects of United States foreign policy which resulted in the series of "teach-ins". Little makes a point of this in his discussion of the phenomenon. "However, ideology aside, teach-ins are a co-operative enterprise which breaks through the traditional structure. This, probably, is the appeal. Students at Michigan for example, worked unstintingly in an effort to assure success, and claimed afterwards that it was the most meaningful educational experience they had ever had. For the first time they realised what a University might be. They felt a real affinity with members of the staff. Moreover, contacts among the latter are eased too ..... They sense an artificiality about their academic position and would like to establish what is more truly a community of scholars".[1] Student/staff relations will be discussed later

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1. Little, Kenneth, "Academic Protest in the United States", The Listener, August 12th, 1965.

in the chapter.

The three Universities studied had a variety of occasions which could be said to stimulate and demonstrate group solidarity - though the extent of these varied between them.

As we have said, Edinburgh student life is very fragmented so that the occasions on which students as a body meet together are almost non-existent. For even the practical difficulty of assembling nearly 8,000 students together at any one time precludes the idea of vast rallies in which the 'student' category is truly meaingful. The Rectorial election may be said to represent a totemic occasion yet in that it really represents a war of rival factions, the existing divisions within the student body exclude consciousness of a wider structural opposition. When the Rector gives his inaugural speech, ideally to the whole University, he speaks in reality to a selected few in that the hall in which he speaks is too small to hold more than a third of the student body so that tickets must be queued for in advance. At graduation, three or even four graduation ceremonials are held for the same practical reasons, and again the groupings are along faculty lines. It might be true to say that a student's faculty in Edinburgh is in reality the largest single unit with which he can identify.

This begins early in that even at the Freshers' Conference, "Faculty tea parties" encourage in the student group solidarity of a special kind which will remain all through his University career.

Thus the solidarity generating occasions which would stimulate 'student' identity are on the whole lacking in Edinburgh. The only occasion which would seem to cross the faculty barriers is "Charities Week",

particularly Charities Saturday when students collecting in the streets or parading on a float are probably more conscious of being a 'student' than they will ever be again. "Charities" is usually a tremendous success for the students and is enjoyed by the townspeople.

In the case of Edinburgh, it would seem that lack of student identity leads to accentuate other structural oppositions within the student body - often in terms of social class.

In Newcastle, although the social life of students is also fragmental there would seem on the face of it to be more occasions when the category 'student' is more meaningful than in Edinburgh. The very size of the University makes it a more practical proposition to have general ceremonials for the whole student body. In physical terms, too, their Students' Union stands as an expression of student oneness though in reality it is already growing too small for the total student population.

As has been pointed out, relations between town and gown have not been too cordial in recent years, and this element of conflict only reinforces the students 'studentness' on certain occasions. "Rag Week" is a case in point. Because of certain incidents in the town the Vice-Chancellor shortened Rag Week to three days in which all collections and all social events were to be held. This made students even more belligerent and conscious of their group solidarity.

In Durham there are an abundance of occasions for generating 'student' solidarity and since all are rooted in tradition the institutional sentiment is also fostered. Congregations (graduation), Freshers' Conferences, Rag Week, Regatta, "Castle"Day, even the inter-college "Raft Race" - all play their part in stimulating the consciousness of being a student.

In fact Durham shows clearly that the more separate an institution and the more visible its totemic representations, the more will it give rise to particularly 'student' culture manifested in various forms. The "Raft Race" is a case in point where a particularly in-group affair between the colleges is also watched with great interest and amusement by local townspeople. And the ridiculous and amusing proceedings and paraphenalia are seen as 'typically student'.

In the other two Universities nothing quite comparable to a total student culture exists and this is seen to be a feature of the institution's relation to the external environment.

Not only does corporate unity and student culture depend for growth upon this relationship, but also the kind of unity which will create its own internal distinctions and divisions.

In a discussion of 'student' occasions which tend to emphasise the maningfulness of the 'student' category, it is necessary also to consider those 'student' occasions which divide rather than unite the student body, because they epitomise an élite culture in which all cannot, or do not desire to, participate. Such examples are furnished by lavish social occasions, usually of a formal and institutional nature. College formal Balls, University sherry parties, College "Days", and so on stress the values and mores of an élite, and often bring to the fore social class differences among students, for this reason. Those of working class origin, for instance, who feel unsure of themselves on these 'grand occasions', who do not have the appropriate dress, who are not enculturated into the correct behaviour required in certain situations, will stay away from such functions. Thus the 'clientele' on these occasions will be those

who 'fit in' and who themselves epitomise the élite culture such occasions tend to perpetuate. Those students who lack the appropriate class marks and yet attend, are made to feel 'different', so that social class divisions within the student body are emphasised.

It is for these reasons that partners for formal Balls are chosen with such great care, and these are occasions on which the social class of friends of the opposite sex would come into consideration. Some students 'show up well' in these situations and some do not. Those who do not do not get asked.

Therefore, it is quite possible that some 'student' or 'University' occasions designed to demonstrate a unity and common culture do, in fact, demonstrate the opposite. This would be less true were all students enculturated into the prevailing middle class mores. The previous chapters have shown that this is only possible in certain conditions. Where those conditions do not obtain external divisions persist.

In Edinburgh and Newcastle students come into contact more readily than in Durham with external divisions and reference groups - such as those met with in the home environment. Thus there is no real separation and 'aggregation' in the sense of the rite de passage described by Van Gennep.[1] Thus in Edinburgh and Newcastle the same divisions and inequalities are applied inside the student body as outside - there is a kind of continuum. In that Edinburgh is a middle class town and Newcastle working class, this is the context in which the institutional groups are set and it has its influence upon them. Thus in Newcastle students who interact daily with local

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1. Van Gennep, Arnold. The Rites of Passage. Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960, p. 11. See also Marris, op. cit., p. 126.

folk are more likely to be influenced by 'common man' attitudes than Edinburgh students, who will be influenced in turn by the professional people with whom they come into contact. This class 'context' embraces the institutional divisions - it does not dictate them. The 'local' links of Newcastle and the 'cosmopolitan' air of the city of Edinburgh[1] also have their influence on internal divisions.

In Durham, however, by virtue of having cut itself off from external society spatially and socially the University is able to manufacture its own "inequalities", using and imposing its own criteria. Since it is an academic institution it employs academic criteria to differentiate and distinguish staff; students and administrative hierarchy. The relationship of staff to students is institutionally defined so that there is a structural opposition between the two categories which heightens awareness of group identity. Such is the definition that relations between the two categories are prescribed and proscribed in all situations. Thus 'student' is a meaningful social category both inside and outside the institution in terms of this structural opposition.

Staff in Durham as we have seen eat separately at 'high table', they have separate flats in colleges, separate common rooms, separate facilities in the faculty buildings - there is almost total segregation and the system is hedged about with all sorts of social sanctions. The student internalises the inherent value system and learns to accept it - this applies also to postgraduate students who are in statu pupillari - so that should a member of staff attempt to cross the barrier in any way he is

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1. Gouldner, A.W. "Cosmopolitans and Locals", Admin. Sci. Quart., 2, 1957-8.

immediately under suspicion.[1]

One of the girls of St. Mary's College was quite upset one day because the Principal had said 'Hello' to her in the corridor after she had said 'Good morning'. She then did not know whether to say 'Hello' back or not - but thought that this would not be proper. There had been for her a moment of real unease.

A young geography lecturer - new from a 'redbrick' University - said he had tried to get friendly with his students and had invited them round to coffee. One by one they had made rather transparent excuses, and he became painfully aware that he had done the wrong thing. It is not always true that students "do want to know the staff better".[2]

In Edinburgh and Newcastle there is no institutionally defined relationship of staff to students - it is all very much an individual affair so that no structural opposition as such exists. Thus outside the purely academic context the staff/student dichotomy is hardly meaningful. Staff and students do not mix very much socially but since there is no institutionally prescribed relationship this fact is not remarkable.[3] In Durham, students mentioned staff/student relationships time after time - complaining of lack of contact, of lack of staff interest and so on. Although there is equally little social contact in the other two Universities staff/student relationships were barely a matter for concern - student divisions were of far greater import.

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1. Marris attributes "reluctance to approach the staff" to a "fundamental ambiguity in staff/student relations". Marris, op. cit., p. 62.

2. Ibid., p. 121.

3. Ibid., p. 80 : "In some ways the departmental organisation of the civic universities can provide more natural opportunities for staff and students to meet informally" (than in colleges).

Thus does the degree of institutional inequalities influence the perception and operation of other social factors.

We can turn for explanation of this to writings on caste systems and other forms of structural stratification. Dumont in his paper "Caste Racism and Stratification" makes some theoretical points which are relevant here.

He says that "Equality and hierarchy are not, in fact, opposed to each other in the mechanical way which the exclusive consideration of values might lead one to suppose : the pole of the opposition which is not valorised is none the less present, each implies the other and is supported by it. Talcott Parsons draws attention, at the very beginning of his study to the fact that the distinction of statuses carries with it and supposes equality within each status. Conversely, where equality is affirmed, it is within a group which is hierarchized in relation to others".[1]

Thus where the student body is 'hierarchized' as a group in a distinction of statuses as in Durham the organization presupposes an equality within the student 'status'. This tends to make external inequalities less relevant, i.e., students are less conscious of social class divisions as we have seen than for instance in Edinburgh.

An example of the way in which students themselves introduce their own distinctions and inequalities is the prestige ranking of colleges discussed in Chapter VII, and the development of college 'images' and stereotypes.

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1. Dumont, Louis : "Caste, Racism and Stratification - Reflections of a Social Anthropologist". Contributions to Indian Sociology, No. V, October 1961. Moulton and Co., p. 41.

The Edinburgh and Newcastle case is different as we have seen in that all members of the institution are structurally undifferentiated so that external inequalities apply. "It is this structural relation that the equalitarian ideal tends to destroy, the result of its action being which is most often studied under the name of "social stratification". In the first place the relation is inverted : equality contains inequalities instead of being contained in a hierarchy. In the second place a whole series of transformations happen which can perhaps be summarised by saying that hierarchy is repressed made non-conscious : it is replaced by a manifold network of inequalities, matters of fact instead of right of quantity and gradualness instead of quality and discontinuity. Hence for a part the well-known difficulty of defining social classes".[1]

It is the "manifold network of inequalities" which operates within the student body that we have been considering in these three chapters - and in that none of the three Universities is completely separate from external setting all exhibit the operations of this network to some degree. We have seen that it operates less in Durham where the institution has to some extent substituted its own inequalities. (If one speaks in Merton's terms of reference groups as having similarity of status one may take this to mean internal reference groups and external reference groups).

This being so, one might assume that in the Durham student body social class is less relevant as a factor in social relations than in either Newcastle or Edinburgh - and that in Edinburgh because it is most fragmented social class is most relevant. This in general could be said to

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1. Ibid., p. 42.

be so - although in Durham students are conscious of social class divisions because of the operations of higher education as a means of selection and allocation. That is to say that the place of the University in society is associated with the cultivation of an élite so that the very stressing of its differentness seems to introduce social class divisions - although of a different kind.[1] However, students are aware of their existence and confuse them with other social class points of reference.

The particular 'image' of an institution may again be seen as a symptom of a structural relationship - this time of the institution with the environment. Edinburgh is seen as middle class because of its contact with the town which is middle class; Newcastle is seen as working class for the same reason. Durham has a middle class image by very virtue of it being separate and hierarchically ordered.

This then ends the survey of factors operating in social relations among students - of which it would appear that social class is one of the most significant. Its relevance in different contexts and situations depends on the external and internal structural relations of groups and the way in which they are combined.

We shall now examine the external point of reference in social class, by attempting to discover students' own social class models.

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1. Marris, op. cit., p. 156. In this particular context under the specified conditions and in certain situations "they (the students) were gradually forced to realise that the classlessness of student society was misleading since the bonds which override conventional class barriers also forged an educated élite".

PART FOUR

CHAPTER XII

The Assigned and Professed social classes

In previous chapters we have considered social class as a factor in student relations within the student body, and in Chapter XI the institutional organisation was discussed which affects those relations in various ways. In order to complete the analysis of factors in social relations among students as members of social classes one must take into account what the students themselves understand by 'social class' in the light of their past actual or vicarious experience. Obviously it is not possible at this stage to undertake a thoroughgoing investigation of students' social class "models" - yet the material described will go some way to outlining what it is to which students refer outside the institutional framework when they act in terms of social class. As we have already remarked, students do not come to University as a 'clean slate' on which new experiences will be written - and all their 'student' experiences and activity will be interpreted and acted out in the light of their existing culture and value patterns.

Therefore if we are to examine the effect which the University has upon the students within it, especially in terms of social mobility and transmission of elements of social class culture, we must first understand what social class membership means for the student himself - and what a change of class implies. This involves an examination of the student's own system of status ranking, and the position in this 'scale'

to which he ascribes his parents and by implication himself. So shall we take cognisance of the way in which factors external to the University context - as well as those within it - operate in students' social relations.

Students in the three Universities were asked on the questionnaire what factor they believe to be the most important in 'society at large' in determining an individual's social status and class position. Later in interview they were also asked what they understood by social class and what kind of person they would put into each social class. What was discovered in this way of students' social class 'models' makes meaningful their ranking of their parents in social class terms - for this will obviously be guided by the indices which they see as important. The student's ranking of his parents' social class will be termed the Professed social class as opposed to the Assigned social class accorded by the researcher.

A comparison of Assigned and Professed social class undertaken in this chapter serves to explain certain features of social mobility, discussed in the next, which are central to 'mobility experience' mentioned by Turner[1]. It becomes possible to see what the student thinks he is moving from and to, and at what particular times in his life mobility is likely to occur. For it is no use for example plotting social mobility at crucial stages in an individual's life - such as University - if that particular point is not crucial within his own experience. Examination of externally imposed stages may show nothing that is meaningful. Comparison of both mobility experience and crude mechanics of mobility may yield important clues to the structural relationships and changes involved.

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1. Turner, op. cit.

We turn first of all to some statistics on the factors which students feel most significant in determining the individual's social class. Table 53 (Appendix table 63) show the distributions in terms of social class.

Table 53 Criteria which students thought the most important in determining in society at large an individual's social status, and class position.

	U.C. Ed.	U.M.C. E	U.M.C. D	U.M.C. N	L.M.C. E	L.M.C. D	L.M.C. N	W.C. E	W.C. D	W.C. N	Uncl. E	Uncl. N	Total E	Total D	Total N	Total No.
Family background		16	18	25	17	20	17	14	18	21	20	19	16	20	20	248
Income		6	5	8	6	9	11	14	7	19	-	12	7	9	12	126
Occupation		42	21	32	46	30	36	25	35	29	-	39	38	27	33	442
Education		15	22	19	16	19	21	25	15	19	60	15	18	16	20	236
Combination		12	19	-	12	12	-	17	14	-	20	-	14	-	-	99
Other		8	-	-	3	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	21
Personality		-	7	9	-	9	6	-	3	6	20	11	-	8	7	70
Manners		-	7	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	10
"Push"		-	1	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	6
D.K.or non R.		1	-	8	1	-	9	-	7	7	-	4	1	16	8	52
Total		100	100	101	101	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	101	100	1290
Number	2	126	101	199	140	161	280	48	77	124	6	26	322	339	629	

In Edinburgh 16% of students thought that "family background" determined a person's social standing compared with 20% in Durham and 20% in Newcastle. Since this applies to life outside the University it well may be that students of Durham and Newcastle are more conscience of the

divisions of "ascribed" status[1] than are students in Edinburgh. This is no more than speculation based in a sense of confusion of regional and social divisions - and in any case the difference is not large enough to be really significant. What is significant is that nearly a fifth of all the students thought that family background determines a person's social standing. In interview they explained that they were thinking of <u>themselves</u>, i.e. students of their own age group who have as yet no occupation. These people still gain their status and role from their family - they are <u>not</u> yet judged as independent people. This is a most important point which must be remembered later on in the discussion of mobility and of the place of University education in the mobility process.

Of the remaining four fifths of the students a large percentage chose "occupation" as the most important social class index, 38% in Edinburgh, 27% in Durham and 33% in Newcastle. Again a number of these in interview explained that by "occupation" in the case of students they mean parental occupation until they should be fully independent. This fact - coupled with the discovery that many students believed "family background" status to be based largely on <u>parental</u> occupation - served to indicate the value of the use of occupational status as the main social class index of the survey. It would appear that what the researcher saw as the main status dimension of social class is that of a majority of the students also. This means that to a large extent the social class structure analysed is meaningful also to the people in the situation.

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1. Linton, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.115

The proportion of Durham students who think that social class is determined by education is surprisingly low - 16% - in the light of what was said in the last chapter about the inequalities and distinctions fostered between students and non-students by the Collegiate system. The percentages in this category in Edinburgh and Newcastle are 18% and 20% respectively - an interesting increase - but one which in interview was seen to be attributable to different factors from those in the Durham situation.

If we look at the breakdown into social class categories we shall see why this is. In Durham the largest proportion - 21% - of students in this category are of the upper middle class - for the reasons outlined above. In Newcastle the largest proportion is in the lower middle class, again 21%. This may result from the fact that in Newcastle the lower middle class has expanded as we have seen in vast numbers in the University not only in terms of a socio-economic group, but as members of overlapping educational classes. These students are conscious of the benefits of "education" gained even in the middle class. In Edinburgh it is the working class which contributes most to the percentage choosing this option. 25% of all working class students chose "education" as the primary index of social class. This could be because, aware of breaking into a middle class stronghold they <u>hope</u> that education is the main factor in determining social class. This reinforces their position and mobility aspirations. The anomalous English working class in fact contributes 16% to the total in this category despite its minute size - only 7% of the student body.

Other distributions are surprisingly similar in the three Universities in terms of overall proportions. Only a few students have a completely "economic" model of social class. Those who thought "income" determined social class were 7% (Edinburgh), 9% (Durham) and 12% (Newcastle).

An interesting distribution is seen in terms of social class responses in this category. In Newcastle and Edinburgh Universities the proportion of students stating "income" increased down the social scale, and as many as 19% Newcastle working class students were in this category. There is a marked difference between the Newcastle and Durham proportions - in the latter only 7% working class students thought "income" the most important criterion. This difference would seem to correspond with other observations we have made about the two Universities, and it is quite possible that the working class students are intrinsically of a different type. "Income" as expressive of crude material factors was mentioned more often in Newcastle than in either of the other two Universities. On the other hand 5% of Durham working class students stated that "Push" determines social status - which may be a comment on their own experiences.

About 7% in each University thought "personality" determines social class or social standing - but in interview it appeared that this was more an expression of what ought to happen than what students think really does happen.

It is interesting to note that 3% of Durham respondents felt moved to insert the category "manners" - which they may well have learned

to accept in the hierarchical context. This was most stressed by upper middle class female students, followed by the working class males. No lower middle class or working class females mentioned this factor.

In Durham University 15% said the combination of indices is so complex that one single one cannot be separated out - compared with 9% in Edinburgh. In Newcastle 8% refused to answer this question - more it appeared because of sensitive feelings than any lack of understanding or ability to answer.

If one adds together the percentage of students who named "occupation" and "income" as the most significant factors determining social class - these may be taken as students with a socio-economic "model" of social class. In Edinburgh this represents 45%, in Durham 36% and Newcastle 45%. Taken with those students who chose "family background" as signifying parental occupation, and an additional number who voted for "combination" of factors, it would appear that a majority of students, though not an overwhelmingly large majority, have a "socio-economic" model of social class - so that when one compares Professed with Assigned social class one would expect some measure of agreement in ranking of social class of origin of students. This will be found to be so.

A brief discussion of points raised in interview will help to clarify students' ideas of social class and its relation to their own experience.

It appeared that although most students saw social class in terms of "occupational" categories, very few of them were able to express this fact in terms of a rational conceptualisation of social class.

They were able to express social class categories usually in terms emotively as well as cognitively meaningful to them - i.e. social class categorisation which they personally had experienced. This tended to vary with the social class of the respondent - so that middle class students were more able cognitively to conceptualise about social class - so that what they expressed were rational rather than emotive categories. They were also most likely to avoid "cognitive dissonance"[1] with what they believed to be the general "educated" view. Working class students tended to evaluate social class in terms of emotive experience and association - often sociocentrically biased. This is by no means a universally applicable generalisation. However, it was rather surprising that despite education and training students were often unable to discuss social class outside the most unsophisticated terms. And indeed it seemed true that "encompassing so much it is rarely conceptualised".[2] It is perhaps significant that some of the more unsophisticated evaluations of social class came from Newcastle students. Examples of these remarks are:-

> "The working class is all the people who work in boiler suits"
>
> "The working class is people who work at Fords"
>
> "People in the upper class have top, well-paid jobs, big cars and posh accents".

Although unsophisticated these comments incorporate an assessment of crucial class clues - crucial at least to these particular students - these are "work", "money", "material possessions" and "accent".

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1. Homans, George C. Social Behaviour - Its Elementary forms. (Internat.Lib. of Sociol. and Soc. reconstruction) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1961 p.104.

2. Littlejohn, James, op.cit., p.111

A comment of a middle class student of Newcastle University tends to reinforce the impression, as it were, from the other side. This student said:-

> "I think the classes are coming together now because as jobs have got cleaner so have the working classes."

This stress on the way that gross material factors which at one time separated the social classes led some students to come to the conclusion that "class doesn't matter any more". "Only our parents' generation is very much concerned about social class - after all they lived through the depression - it mattered then" - said one lower middle class Durham student.

A lower middle class student in Edinburgh said what was echoed by a few middle class students in the other Universities (significantly this category did not include any working class students) - when he stated "To my mind there is no such thing as a middle class. Anyone who works hard is working class, surely". In this case his assessment seemed to be closely related to his views about his own course in the University - Engineering - which he felt was of "low status in the University. Everyone imagines engineers as being non-academic and tinkering around with cars". In the case of this student the "downgrading" of everyone who works to the same level of "working class" seemed to be a form of protection against the opinions and possibly initial assessment of himself by other people. How far the other students who expressed this view were also reacting to a situation of their own insecurity it is impossible at this stage to assess.

Nevertheless, the concentration of some students on the purely material features of social class tended to obscure for them more subtle

differences in terms of values and culture. These they recognised and differentiated but did not call "social class". Usually the terms used were "people with interests in common", "who like doing the same things", "who feel at ease together". Concepts expressed were embracing social class yet not giving it that name.

Some students - perhaps 50% - however stated that values and education in a way are more important than occupation or income because these influence more than anything "the way people live". Said one Durham student -

> "After all it's not how you earn your money that is important or even beyond certain extremes how much you earn; what is more important is how you spend it."

This student was trying to discriminate between differences in life-style of social classes, which are largely determined by internalised value and culture patterns.

Students whose "model" was phrased in these terms had a completely different appreciation of social class from those who saw social class divisions in crude terms of "money and possessions" and as one may see this coloured their whole attitude to social class inside and outside the University and their own mobility experience. The "economic" and "value" models of social class seemed to be closely related to position on a scale of objective ranking, i.e. the lower down the assigned social scale students were the more they tended to speak of social classes in crude economic terms; and the higher up the scale the more "attitudes", "values" and "interests" seemed to matter. Thus while working class students attempt to show that in their terms social class differentials are narrowing, middle class students are able to claim that they will never be eradicated - by virtue of the middle class monopoly of the "elite

values" which are not easily learned in one generation. This distinction is important since it is likely that families of students at University on the whole do not exhibit such gross material differences as are apparent in the total population. Here the Floud, Halsey and Martin[1] conclusion is relevant as an explanation of middle class categorisation - that the fewer the gross material differences the more important become social class value systems in differential achievement and mobility.

It is clear that the way in which students evaluate social class divisions in society will order the extent to which they see social class divisions within the University, among the student body. If they use only crude material indices they will say - even believe - there are no social classes in the University - or that social class is not an important factor in student social relations. Yet prejudice against "posh accents" or "Public" or "Grammar" School students will belie the fact.

However, it would be true to say that although ostensibly a sizeable proportion, students who evaluate social class categories in material terms are distinctly in the minority.

The difficulty with so many of these social class "models" and "categories" is that in a sense they "blanket" a variety of responses which are more meaningful, though more apparently inconsistent if they are analysed in separate configurations. For students were quick to point out, what has been discovered about social class in the University, that in any matter of social class "it depends on the situation". Said one Newcastle student "I might drink with some of the local working men down

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1. Floud, Halsey, Martin, op.cit.

at the pub, and get on with them very well - but on the other hand I should hate to meet them at a University social function". Said another from Edinburgh, "Of course social class in terms of school and accent for instance, may not matter on a variety of social occasions - but if one were going for an interview for a job it might matter very much."

Students could think of occasions when social class matters and when it does not matter, and they felt that they were being inconsistent in saying so. In fact of course such inconsistencies are central to our analysis of the relevance of social class in social relations. So too are the apparent inconsistencies in the actual social class categorisation. For just as different situations determine the relevance of social class - so do they determine the relevance of one particular dimension of social class rather than another. "Occupational status" may at times be more important than amount of income, at other times "material possessions", at others "life style" and at yet others "value patterns". And it is true that these dimensions are combined in different ways at different points of the scale.

It is no wonder that students found it difficult to express themselves on the subject or often contradicted themselves -

> "Oh dear", said one female Edinburgh student "I seem to have contradicted myself hundreds of times and I'm really more confused now than I was at the beginning".

Perhaps many other students would agree with her. Indeed it is clear that the whole concept of social class must be subjected to extensive and intensive empirical research before all the complexities and inconsistencies can be reconciled into a meaningful whole.

This kind of analysis is important for the discussion of the relevance of social class as a factor in social relations within the University, since the point of reference which the student has for his own perception of social class will affect and even order his immediate attitudes and behaviour in terms of social class. Whether he has experiences rural or urban stratification patterns for example may well influence his appreciation of social class divisions among students. All the dimensions and distributions of class must be accounted for.

In Chapter VII the influence of social class on students' attitudes and behaviour in terms of informal groups has already been studied but it is pertinent here to consider again whether social class divisions in the student body are of the same kind as those in external society - though perhaps differing in degree.

Appendix table 49 has set out findings of the Edinburgh survey which show how criteria determining social standing within the University differ from those outside. This gives some indication of whether divisions continue on some kind of continuum as in society at large. In this case family background would be the principal criterion, since indices such as occupation and income cannot yet be used for students.

In fact only 12% of students thought that an individual student's standing is determined by family background. The greatest number of these are Scottish middle class students. A high percentage of Overseas lower middle class thought this too - 25% - as did one working class Overseas. Perhaps by "family background" these students meant also the factor of "nationality" feeling that "being foreign" affected their

standing in the student body.

Only 3% of students think that "wealth" determines a student's social standing.

By far the largest number of students said that other "abilities and talents" are important in determining a student's status among his fellows - 44%. Of 80 students who said "other", 49 thought it was "Personality". 4% thought that a combination of academic prowess and other abilities and talents together determined a student's social status. Taking into account the various "other" categories which students invented, it seems that the majority of students feel that in the student body an individual is judged on his own merits.

This would seem to be true in a variety of contexts and yet by speaking of "student's social standing" another ranking system is introduced - almost a red herring - which is indigenous to the student body and which does not operate instead of but rather in conjunction with the social classes of external society. And the two systems touch at many points where the same indices of status are used.

In the Durham context as we have seen an added complication to the overall analysis is introduced by the fact that colleges are ranked in prestige by students. Appendix 47 has shown that 68% of students thought colleges ranking in prestige and 18% were not sure. The group which most often thought colleges ranked was female students living in college. This may well have something to do with the "dating Structure" in which it is prestigeful to "go out" with someone from a high-ranking college whatever his individual merits or de-merits. This corresponds in some respects to the "rating and dating complex" of American

fraternities and sororities noted by certain writers.

It would appear that the colleges fall into two systems of ranking by sex. At the head of the male colleges are University, Hatfield and Grey followed by the theological colleges St. John's and St. Chad's with Bede College and St. Cuthbert's Society at the bottom of the scale. The women's colleges are ranked by the majority in the order of St. Mary's, St. Aidan's, St. Hilda's and Neville's Cross. It is interesting to see what criteria are thought to determine this ranking - these have been shown also in Appendix 47.

As one might expect stress is laid in different colleges on different ranking criteria. This varies as for individuals on the position of the college of the respondent on the scale. On the male college scale for instance 15% of St. Cuthbert's say that prestige is due to "social conformity" of college members. This is presumably in the nature of a criticism of University College which ranks high and a vindication of St. Cuthbert's which is bottom. An additional 26% in St. Cuthbert's refused to answer this question.

28% of University college say that prestige is based on "personality" of college members and 23% on other "abilities and talents". 15% say it is also due to "social adaptability" which may be taken as a virtue since as we have seen so many of the members of this college have indeed been "socially adaptable" to the prevailing image.

Grey College and St. John's rate "enthusiasm" higher than the other colleges and University ranks lowest on this.

In the case of both male and female ranking the two teacher training colleges mention family background most often as determining prestige of colleges, 18% in Bede and 33% in Neville's Cross. This may have something to do with the fact that each college contains both certificate and graduate trainees which is not always socially satisfactory. "Snobbery" was mentioned only by University and Hatfield students, 3% and 2% which suggests a dissatisfied element within them rebelling against the criteria they feel to be applied.

Among the women's colleges "abilities and talents" are stressed more than "personality"; and those in St. Aidan's College particularly stress the importance of "social conformity" and "social adaptability".

Although the "pattern" of indices varies from college to college there is some consensus of opinion which points again to a student system of ranking based mainly upon individual traits and talents.

The fact that students from different colleges are to some extent categorised again bears witness to the fact that in any hierarchical organisation each level is presupposed equal. In Merton's terms each college as a group of status equals in terms of college ranking forms a reference group. In time through the internalising of college "values" and the erroneous expectations of members of other colleges the prophesy of group categorisation is fulfilled.

This system of ranking forms new kinds of unities and disunities in the student body which operate in the institutional framework in a peculiarly "student" way but which as we have seen throughout do not replace the external social class divisions. However, it would be true to say in the light of other findings that where cross cutting

unities occur as in Durham there is a great tendency for class lines to become relatively blurred.

Having examined how students rank each other, we now turn to students' assessment of parental social class. Most students made an attempt to classify their parents - about 97% in all - although one or two wrote angry comments and said that they "did not believe in class". A comparison of "assigned" with the "professed" social class would seem to show that a large proportion of students are well aware of class indices and of where they would put their parents (and by implication themselves) on the social scale. In a sense, what was tested was the amount of "overlap" of the social class identification of the individual in terms of "interest"[1] and/or "aspiration", compared with that of identity accorded by others - in this case represented by an objective index. In fact there turned out to be a surprising amount of "overlap" and students were in these terms extremely "realistic".

Table 54 (Appendix table 64) shows the distributions of assigned and professed social classes in the three Universities.

Table 54 /

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1. As used Centers, R. Psychology of the Social Classes, A Study of class consciousness. (Stud. in Public Opinion) Princeton N.J., 1949.

Table 54 Assigned and Professed Social Class

Assigned / Professed	U.C. E	U.M.C. E	U.M.C. D	U.M.C. N	LM.C. E	LM.C. D	LM.C. N	Wk.Cl. E	Wk.Cl. D	Wk.Cl. N	Total E	Total D	Total N
U.C.	50	2	4	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	1.5	1	1
U.M.C.	50	84	77	75	32	25	30	4	-	2	47	34	39
M.M.C.	-	6	4	5	7	5	5	-	-	-	4.5	4	4
L.M.C.	-	7	13	13	49	61	49	23	20	24	28	35	32
Wk.Cl.	-	-	-	-	8	5	11	69	71	69	14	21	19
No Class	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	4	2	1.4	2	1
D.K.	-	2	1	-	4	2	1	2	5	-	2.5	2	1
Not stated	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	2	-	3
Total	100	101	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	100
Number	2	126	101	199	140	161	280	48	77	124	322	352	629

As one might expect the upper middle class students in each University had the most "realistic" view of their parents' social class. In Edinburgh, 84% of the assigned upper middle class were of the professed upper middle class; 77% in Durham and 75% in Newcastle. In each case 5% invented the category "middle middle class" and the rest, with the exception of 2 - 3% professed upper class, were of the professed lower middle class. Students felt that in some ways the division between upper middle class and lower middle class was the

hardest distinction to make. This is most evident in the Newcastle sample - which is what one expects in the light of findings already discussed. Not one of the assigned upper middle class students was of the professed working class.

The assigned lower middle class results showed a different kind of pattern. In Edinburgh, 32% put their parents in the professed upper middle, while only 49% were of the professed lower middle class, and 8% professed working class. The Newcastle figures, perhaps surprisingly, resemble those of Edinburgh more closely - 30% professed upper middle class, 49% professed lower middle class and 11% professed working class. One might assume that the lower middle class students in Edinburgh and Newcastle are more "aspiring" than in Durham and that their lack of consensus shows to some extent a situation of change and consequent social class anomie. This would have to be investigated further before any real conclusions were drawn.

Of the assigned working class 69% in Edinburgh were of the professed working class; in Durham 82% and in Newcastle 69%. 29% were "upgraders" in Edinburgh; 14% in Durham and 24% in Newcastle. The greater overall agreement of professed with assigned social classes in Durham would seem to indicate either a clearer idea of social class divisions or a greater acceptance of them - whereas the greater proportion of "upgraders" and "downgraders" in Edinburgh and Newcastle could be held to show some unprecision or unwillingness on the part of the students whose contact with "the others" is so limited

that they are not quite sure where they would come on the scale. Only about 3 or 4 % in each University consciously opted out by putting "no class" or "don't know" - the rest implied by the very fact of answering that this kind of judgment is not something with which they are entirely unfamiliar.

Nevertheless some students gave the impression that they disliked putting their parents in a social class category as it made them feel vaguely disloyal. This attitude also coloured their responses to questions on their own social mobility - which is discussed in the next chapter. Yet "attitudes" are extremely difficult to reveal and analyse so that it is acknowledged that some reference is involved in terms of implicit motivation. This is why the author discussed initially the cultural patterns and statistical regularities which in terms of their "clustering" may be termed "social classes". Where these coincide with students' professed social class it would appear that these represent something "real" in terms of student identity and experience. The fact that something "real" is analysed makes it possible.to speak of movement between these social classes in a way which is meaningful to those undergoing mobility experience. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

In a sense the author has approached the problem of analysing social classes from two angles in a manner similar to those described by Ossowski.

"The formulae given here can be regarded in two ways; either as some kind of sociological laws concerning the sharpness of class stratification in the social consciousness, arrived at by observation

of collective life and conclusions drawn from very psychological assumptions, or else as a partial definition of what is meant by the relative sharpness of class stratification. In the latter case we would interpret the degree of sharpness of the class stratification statistically as a certain set of characteristics of a status system. In the former case the sharpness of the stratification must be described in another way - by reference to psychological attitudes or to the behaviour of members of the collectivity in social interaction."[1]

Both approaches are necessary to an understanding of social class and of movement between social classes. For "movement" in itself is meaningless unless one may ascertain in what direction the movement takes place - from what and to what - and thus <u>how</u> it is achieved. If one analyses social classes in terms of a concept of structured gradation of defined "levels" mobility is seen as a movement "up" or "down" the social scale. This kind of analysis is that most widely used at the present time, and tends to emphasise the structural importance of "barriers to upward mobility" and "obvious" gaps at certain intervals in the scale". As Ossowski points out "a dichotomic scheme is the most suitable one for bringing out the sharpness of class divisions", and an increase in classes blurs the sharpness of class divisions.[2]

A scheme of structured gradation as we have seen throughout is not an entirely fruitful means of analysing social class within a range of educationally status equals. Nevertheless the structured

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1. Ossowski, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.95
2. Ibid., pp.94-95

gradation scheme cannot be dispensed with, for it serves to describe in some respects the situation from which the students came and to which they refer in terms of past experience. And since by "social mobility" is meant that movement between social classes which individual students undergo in the total structure of societal social classes, a scheme of gradation is used in analyses of social mobility. Although the "upward" and "downward" typology of mobility seems a crude way of describing this complex phenomenon as yet no other satisfactory scheme has been put in its place. So we are at the point where we try to conceptualise social classes in a new way and yet have not yet the methodological equipment to test these concepts empirically nor fit them into a broader structural scheme.

Nevertheless awareness of such inadequacy makes one accept traditional typology and terminology now only with reservations.

CHAPTER XIII

Students' Social Mobility and Social Motility

For the purposes of this chapter we will ignore the limitations of concepts of social class described in the last and preceding chapters and assume certain facts about social class which we must not otherwise assume. Unless we do this our feet are on shifting sand and we cannot take any further empirical steps.

We shall assume, therefore, that the social classes are identifiable social and cultural collectivities ranked in a system of gradation upon a social status continuum and relatively permanent. In other words, we shall be concerned only with "class boundaries conceived as barriers to the mobility of individuals on the social status scale" - and not with the "sharpness with which the dividing line is drawn between classes".[1] In keeping with this social class 'model' we shall speak of 'upward' and 'downward' mobility. Although these terms are used for convenience it is only with an awareness of their limitation, for a rethinking of concepts of social class should involve concomitant rethinking of concepts of mobility. This however would require the writing of an entirely different thesis - and space permits only one chapter. However, suffice it to say that the model of mobility so postulated is a crude simplification of the processes involved - for movement between multi-dimensional classes in a sense requires multi-dimensional movement. While recognising the difficulties we must unfortunately ignore them at this point.

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1. Ossowski, op. cit., p. 93.

In this chapter what is primarily discussed is what Turner has called mobility experience[1] rather than any structural analysis of mobility rates.[2] Indeed mobility rates could not at this point be ascertained. The reason for this is because mobility rates are ascertained after people have moved not when they are moving or are in a temporary zone of transition. In terms of external social class divisions students may be thought to be in a transition zone - and some students have shown that they think of University in this way. However to describe the process of being a student as passing through a complex "rite de passage" of separation, transition, and incorporation[3] would imply enculturation into the values of the élite which as we shall see is by no means automatic.

Students were asked if they consider that since coming to University they have changed their social class from that of their parents, in order to ascertain the importance of higher education as one of the main avenues (if not the main avenue) for upward social mobility for the children of the working class. Naturally what is being investigated is the attitude of the student himself to the process of mobility and not the categorisation by others which he might undergo. In this sense the picture is one sided. Yet it may provide insights into how mobility is achieved and by whom.

At this stage it is necessary to make the distinction between what the author will call 'motility' and what is usually called 'mobility'.

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1. Turner, op. cit.
2. As, for instance, undertaken by Glass, op. cit.
3. Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 11.

What will largely be discussed will be the motile student, and his social motility rather than what is called mobility. This stems from the fact that since students are in a transition zone as far as the external structure is concerned all that can be analysed is their capability of motion rather than the fact that they have moved, are moving, or will move. Therefore the concept of 'mobility' is not adequate as a description of what happens within the University. In a sense all students are mobile in that they have undergone a certain amount of movement in an institutionalised system of mobility.[1] Thus the concept of mobility does not differentiate between them nor give us any understanding of their differential capacity to move further. Social 'motility' may fill this gap in conceptualisation. Nor does a discussion of 'mobility aspiration' comprehend those who aspire to move and yet are not capable of it, i.e., who are non motile but aspiring. Therefore, mobility aspiration is not syonymous with 'motility'.

There is a distinct difference between mobility and motility in that the former is a structural property, the latter is a property of individuals relative to that structure. When movement of individuals occurs the two are combined in various ways which are expressed in terms of mobility experience. Analysis of mobility rates shows only who has moved or what proportion of people has moved relative to everyone else, in terms of social structure - it cannot tell us much about the process of mobility

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1. Lockwood, D. "Can we cope with social change?", New Society, 28th Nov., 1963, No. 61, p. 13. "The fact that mobility has become increasingly institutionalised via the educational system means that while there may be increased chances of inter-generational mobility through education, the chances of intra-generational mobility through work are declining" (author's underlining).

itself. Thus the concept of motility separates out a special feature of what has normally been called mobility - for until now motility has been comprehended within this concept. To separate out this variable in the mobility situation may help in the understanding of mobility experience.

The socially mobile person is one who is on the move, or who has moved in terms of structural position; the socially motile person is one "capable of motion" or with the in-built characteristics of motion. The fact that motility may not always be followed by mobility may lead to severe frustration, as when certain 'avenues' are blocked. Conversely, when mobility is accomplished without motility - as in the case, for instance, of some institutionalised mobility - there may be much resulting anxiety.

In the latter case the person who is moving socially may not have within him characteristics congruent to the situation which enable him to cope with changing social positions. This is likely to happen in situations of institutionalised or of sponsored mobility rather than contest mobility[1] - where the latter implies a combination of mobility and motility. As one may imagine this combination of mobility and motility leads to speedier, and fiercer, movement on the past of a few. In mobility situations in which individual motility is lacking there may be slower and more restrained movement.

The relation of the individual and the structural property may well be expressed in terms of a simple two by two contingency table.

Motility	+ Mobility	−
+	'Mobile'	Non mobile motile
−	Non motile mobile	'Immobile'

1. As used by Turner, op. cit.

The properties and their combinations summarised above may apply to mobility experience of individuals or groups - but particularly the former. It will be seen that what has previously been described as "mobility" is in fact a configuration of variables - which must be separated out if the nature of mobility is to be understood. 'Motility' is one of those variables.

Social motility and 'mobility experience' will be considered in their various aspects by :-

(1) An analysis of students who thought that since coming to University their social class had changed from that of their parents. What they moved from and to in terms of social class.

(2) An analysis of those who thought they had <u>not</u> changed their social class. Why it had not changed. Other 'avenues' of mobility involved.

(3) Examination of aspects of mobility experience in terms of

(a) relations with fellow students and mutual transmission of elements of social class culture;

(b) relation with parents and peers.

These points will be seen to cover the subjects for study outlined by Turner and described in Chapter I.

We turn /

We turn first to an examination of students' social motility - approached first through social class distribution of students who thought they had changed their social class. Table 55 (Appendix Table 65) shows the proportion of students in Edinburgh University in each assigned social class who considered that their social class had changed from that of their parents since coming to University.

Table 55 Whether Edinburgh students considered that their social class had changed from that of their parents since coming to University.

(Assigned social classes)

	Upper Class %	Upper Middle Class %	Lower Middle Class %	Working Class %	Uncl.	Total	No.
Changed	--	8	12	40	-	14	45
Not changed	100	87	80	54	-	76	250
Don't Know	---	5	8	6	100	9	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100	99	322
No.	2	126	140	48	6	322	

It is important to note here that it is the fact of attending a University in itself which is being treated as a means to social mobility, and not the matter of gaining a degree, since very few respondents had in fact gained a first degree.

Only 14 per cent of the students in the sample considered that they had changed their social class since coming to University. However, there is a sizeable proportion of "don't knows" - 9 per cent - which suggests an element of uncertainty in some student quarters. When we

consider the different class totals we see that as one might expect the highest percentage of students who feel their social class to have changed is in the working class - 40 per cent. However, this means that 54 per cent of the working class students at University still consider themselves to be of the same class. This seems to point to the fact that for many students a University education per se is not a means to social mobility. Indeed, it implies, as we shall see later on a lack of motility among working class students in particular. Motility among students must not be assumed. It will be seen to be relative to networks of social relations and in particular to locality ties. (This is the same kind of social/spatial syndrome which affects the social class relations of students within the University).

Table 56 (Appendix Table 66) shows this motility in terms of the professed social classes examined in the last chapter. A clearer indication of students' views is gained from this table since it shows movement in the students' own terms of reference.

Table 56 Edinburgh students' opinions of social class change analysed in terms of professed social classes.

	Upper Class %	Upper Middle Class %	Middle Middle Class %	Lower Middle Class %	Working Class %	No Class	Total	No.
Changed	40	7	6	16	38	-	14	45
Not changed	40	90	82	73	57	12	77	244
Don't Know	20	3	12	11	5	88	9	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	316
No.	5	153	17	89	44	8	316	

The proportion of professed working class students who still consider themselves working class rises to 57 per cent while the professed lower middle class falls from 80 per cent to 73 per cent. It would seem that students genuinely believed their parents belonged to the professed social class which they stated since the figures seem more consistent with the professed rather than the assigned social class.

There is additional information which modifies the impression which is at first given by these figures, gained from interviews and informal conversations. Before this is discussed we turn to Table 57 (Appendix Table 67) which shows comparable material from the Newcastle and Durham surveys.

Table 57 Whether Durham and Newcastle students considered that their social class had changed from that of their parents since coming to University

	Upper Middle Class %		Lower Middle Class %		Working Class %		Unclass.%		Total %	
	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.	Dur.	New.
Changed	7	6	6	15	25	28	-	39	12	16
Not changed	89	87	81	75	61	56	66	58	77	74
Don't Know	4	6	12	8	11	11	25	4	9	8
Later	-	-	1	-	2	2	5	-	1	1
Earlier	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	1	-
Non R.	-	2	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	2
Total	100	101	100	100	100	101	101	101	100	101
No.	101	199	161	280	77	124	13	26	352	629

In Durham /

In Durham 12 per cent of students thought they had changed their social class of origin since coming to University. Of this proportion the largest section was the male working class. Thirty-seven per cent of them thought they had changed - compared with only 14 per cent female working class, and these comprised 68 per cent of all who thought they had changed. It is rather surprising to see that, like the 7 per cent upper middle class in Edinburgh, 7 per cent of Durham upper middle class students think they have changed their social class since coming to University. In Durham a greater proportion of female than male upper middle class students felt they had changed. Although there were no such categories on the form 2 per cent working class students said that they had changed 'earlier' and 5 per cent said they would change 'later'. These will be considered later on.

In the Newcastle sample 16 per cent said that their social class had changed. Twenty-eight per cent of the working class said that their social class had changed, 2 per cent 'later' and 4 per cent did not reply. In both Durham and Newcastle a sizeable proportion of working class students said that they 'did not know'. Only 5 per cent were 'don't knows' in Edinburgh, compared with 11 per cent in Newcastle and Durham. In Newcastle 6 per cent of the upper middle class said that their social class had changed since coming to University - which shows a significantly similar proportion of 'mobile' upper middle class in each University.

The proportion of working class students in each University who say that they have <u>not</u> changed their social class since coming to University is 57 per cent (Edinburgh), 60 per cent (Durham) and 56 per cent (Newcastle). These proportions are remarkably similar when one considers

the variety of social factors operating on the individual motility and mobility patterns in different University contexts - and they are higher than may be expected in the light of assumptions of status equals. However, the finding is not unexpected in the light of the findings of this thesis. As we have seen the University is not a melting pot in which all social classes benefit from the mutual transmission of elements of social class culture. Certain conditions are necessary for this to happen. Where these conditions do not obtain social classes may pass through the University as discrete entities whose members never have an opportunity to mentally "rub shoulders" with each other. This fact has important implications for the process of 'bourgeoisification' later to be discussed.

First we turn to the social classes to which students believed that they had moved. Table 58 (Appendix Table 68) shows the social classes to which students had moved from both Assigned social class and the Professed social class showing movement from the social classes with which students themselves identified. Table 59 (Appendix Table 69) shows the comparable Durham data and Table 60 (Appendix Table 70) data from Newcastle.

Table 58 — Social classes to which Edinburgh students considered they had moved : (in terms of Professed social class).

	Upper Class	Upper M.C.	Middle M.C.	Lower M.C.	Working Class	Total	No.
U.C.	-	18	-	-	-	4	2
U.M.C.	100	—	100	21	12	18	8
M.M.C.	—	9	—	—	—	2	1
L.M.C.	—	36	—	—	30	20	9
W.C.	—	—	—	—	—	—	-
No class	—	9	—	—	—	2	1
Academic	—	—	—	7	12	7	3
Not Yet	—	9	—	21	—	9	4
Don't Know	—	18	—	50	47	38	17
Total	100	99	100	99	101	100	45
No.	2	11	1	14	17	45	

Table 59 — Social classes to which Durham students considered they had moved : (Assigned social class)

	Upper Middle Class		Lower Middle Class		Working Class		Unclass		Total	No.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
U.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
U.M.C.	-	-	25	33	9	-	-	-	12	5
M.M.C.	-	-	—	-	-	-	-	-	—	-
L.M.C.	33	33	—	33	35	100	-	-	31	13
W.C.	—	—	—	—	—	—	-	-	—	—
Don't Know	67	33	50	33	30	—	-	-	36	15
No class	—	33	25	—	26	—	-	-	21	9
Total	100	99	100	99	100	100	-	-	100	42
No.	3	3	8	3	23	2	-	-	42	

Table 60 — Social classes to which Newcastle students considered they had moved : (in terms of Professed social class).

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Total	No.
U.C.	-	6	-	2	2	3	3
U.M.C.	100	16	-	56	7	29	32
M.M.C.	—	28	-	13	40	26	29
L.M.C.	—	22	-	9	40	23	26
W.C.	—	11	-	5	—	4	4
No class	—	17	100	13	9	14	15
Don't Know	—	—	—	2	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	111
No.	1	18	2	45	45	111	

In the Edinburgh sample 9 per cent of students fell into the 'later' category already shown in the other samples, and 7 per cent added the category "Academic Class" and 2 per cent "No class". This compares with the Durham 21 per cent "Academic class" or "No class" and in Newcastle 14 per cent in this category. These students were consciously opting out of the

the class structure as they saw it and felt that by virtue of having been to University they now formed a class of their own based on 'academic' criteria. Most of the students in this category are working class in Edinburgh and Durham and lower middle class in Newcastle. They have been 'cut adrift' in a sense from their old social class ties and yet do not feel that they have yet formed new ones. It is difficult to say whether these students do or will constitute a "floating population" in social class terms - rootless at least in class values. There is also a large proportion of "don't knows" - 38 per cent in Edinburgh (mainly working class), 36 per cent in Durham (again mainly working class) and only 2 per cent in Newcastle (both working class and lower middle class). These replies represent the students with uncertainties (sometimes anxieties) about their future social positon. They feel that they are 'different' from their families - often working class - but do not yet know quite what this means in social class terms.

It must be remembered that these percentages represent only small numbers in the student body since we are discussing now the 14 per cent of students who feel they have changed their social class in some way.

Apart from this body of students in Edinburgh 30 per cent of professed working class thought they had moved to lower middle class and 12 per cent to upper middle class. In Durham the figures were 68 per cent lower middle class and 9 per cent upper middle class, and in Newcastle 40 per cent lower middle class, 40 per cent middle middle class, 7 per cent upper middle class and 2 per cent upper class. It would appear that the more 'middle class' the prevailing ethos the less far the working class students, by contrast, feel they have moved. There is less uncertainty, too, in the Durham sample. Since the steps of gradation in Newcastle seem to be

scaled down it would appear to working class students that they are easier to climb particularly if the middle class value systems are less apparent than in the other two Universities.

The same upgrading appears in the lower middle class sample in Newcastle - in which 56 per cent of those who changed say that they have moved to the upper middle class. Again a proportion invented the category middle middle class - 13 per cent - which would appear to be a scaling down of aspirations to modest proportions. This compares with 21 per cent of lower middle class 'upgraders' in Edinburgh moved to the upper middle class. The rest of the lower middle class motiles put themselves in 'no class' categories. In Durham 29 per cent lower middle class upgraded themselves to upper middle class - the rest to 'no class' categories. This would seem to show on the whole a more modest kind of 'upgrading' in Durham and Edinburgh than in Newcastle.

In Edinburgh, 18 per cent upper middle class motiles upgraded themselves to "upper class" - although half were <u>assigned</u> lower middle class. In actuality this represents only two students so the numbers are too small to be significant. In Durham there were no upper middle class 'upgraders' and in Newcastle 6 per cent. Nevertheless, on the whole, this would point to the finding that 'upper class' is usually thought of by students as one of "rank and title" - ascribed not achieved.

The important finding to which we now turn is the proportion of middle class "downgraders" - who think that since coming to University they have moved <u>down</u> the social scale. The question was phrased in order to discover the significance of University as an avenue of <u>upward</u> mobility. It was a shock to find, therefore, in the Edinburgh survey that in

Edinburgh 45 per cent of Professed upper middle class students who had changed their social class thought that they had moved down the social scale to the middle middle class and lower middle class. These figures were small enough to be 'accidental'. However, they repeated themselves in the following two surveys in a significant way and demand some explanation. In Durham 33 per cent of the upper middle class motiles thought that they had moved down to the lower middle class. In Newcastle the figures increased to 61 per cent upper middle class 'downgraders' and even 5 per cent lower middle class 'downgraders'.

In Newcastle as many as 11 per cent upper middle class motiles and 5 per cent lower middle class motiles thought that they had moved down as far as the working class.

Again the comparative length of shift may be seen in terms of the prevailing social class 'ethos'. Some middle class students in each University feel that their social class has been 'downgraded' and the proportion and the shift are increased in a more 'working class' University. This despite the fact that, as we have seen, in terms of statistical proportions Newcastle is no more working class than Durham. Just as working class students may feel themselves 'bourgeoisified' so may middle class students feel themselves 'proletarianised' (unfortunately both ugly words). These processes depend on the same complex set of conditions which influence all student relations. For only by constant social contact can there be any transmission of elements of social class culture.

In the /

In the Newcastle survey students were asked if they thought that there is any prestige attached by others to being a student. The results, shown below, support the conclusions just made.

Table 61 (Please see Appendix Table 71)

Whether Newcastle students thought that prestige is attached by others to being a student

	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Unclass.	Total	No.
Yes	69	72	75	85	72	453
No	31	27	25	12	27	171
Non responds.	—	1	—	3	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	629
No.	199	280	124	26	629	

Over a quarter of the students think that there is no prestige attached to being a student - and some even added the comment - 'just the opposite!' on their questionnaire. For these students at least the consciousness of being an élite is rather dim.

The proportion of students who think there is no prestige attached to being a student increases up the social scale - so that as many as 31 per cent of upper middle class students fall into this category. This would seem to corroborate what has already been said about the working class 'ethos' of Newcastle and the attitude of those upper middle class students who feel they have moved down the social scale since coming to University.

In Edinburgh a Scottish upper middle class student in his third year said that he considered that he had moved from the upper middle

class to the lower middle class since coming to University, because "people don't usually put students into a social class but if they had to it would be the lower middle class". "No student will afterwards be in the working class - but it depends on what one does afterwards whether one goes into the upper middle class or not. I haven't yet gone into the upper middle class". He thought that if he entered a profession like his father he would then move back into the upper middle class thus experiencing what Westergaard has called "shuttle mobility".[1] This echoes the views of many upper middle class students. Nor was it only upper middle class students who said that "students do not have a high standing in society" - working class students also reiterated this point.
It was noticeable, however, that the kind of remark stated above was most often made by first generation students of the upper middle class who felt that had more in common with first generation students of other social classes. These students were less reluctant than their second generation upper middle class counterparts to say that they had moved down the social scale.

We now turn to the question of why not more working class and lower middle class students had said that they had moved - and what were the reasons for upward 'non-motility'. This should help to show us what particular social conditions differentiate the upwardly motile from the upwardly immotile.

In interview it appeared that many assigned working class and lower middle class students in each University did not think that they had

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1. Westergaard : Lecture to the B.S.A. Exeter Summer School, 26th July 1965.

changed their social class from that of parents since coming to University primarily because this point in their social career was not thought to be that kind of 'crucial' stage. 'University' per se was not for them the most important avenue to social mobility.

Some working class students said that they had changed their social class already perhaps some years before University - for instance upon gaining scholarships to grammar schools and public schools. This depended on the home background and the cultural values of the parents, i,e., whether they were a-typical or not in terms of educo-social aspirations. The more a-typical of the working class the parents were and the more encouragement they gave their child to continue education the more they were able to move with the child in his upward social mobility - thereby giving him the impression that he had not moved. This represents a motile family. In the non-motile family the child feels early that he is making some social break with his family as soon as the process of social selection begins and he moves into a middle class public or grammar school. He leaves his parents behind socially at an early point, and his University career is a continuation of something already begun.

An example of this kind of process was an Assigned working class third year male student at Edinburgh and originally from Lancashire, but now married and settled in Edinburgh. He said that he considered his social class to have changed a long time before coming to University. He had won a scholarship to a church run boarding school which he attended from the age of ten years, and during this time had gradually grown apart from his parents. He considered that his class had changed at school - and he found that he could now hardly communicate with his parents. He was

continually aware of social class consciousness in others. His wife's parents who were upper middle class had practically disowned her upon marrying him and in consequence he and his wife had become a separate and rather isolated unit. He said that they had few friends and social activities and he felt pressure upon him to work all the time to get a "First" in order to justify himself to his wife's parents.

The two main points which emerge in this and other 'case histories' is the stress upon values and 'communication', and the expression of social distance in spatial terms. We have already seen how some English working class students in Edinburgh, and working class students in the other two Universities also (particularly Durham) go to a University a long way from home because they <u>are</u> motile and are expressing in physical/spatial terms a movement away from parents socially which has already occurred or is occurring. This may create problems and tensions within the home, or on the other hand it may be something for which parents are prepared and with which they can cope. This depends on their own motility and adaptability.

Those students who do not mowe socially by contrast of both working class and lower middle class - either before or whilst at University are those with strong locality and family links - often strengthened by home residence. This home residence and spatial nearness to parents and peers puts brakes as it were on the student's mobility. This in addition to the fact that as we have seen home residence reduces the contact with other social classes <u>within</u> the University. The home residence and locality links however are not only a cause of non-mobility they are a

feature of the non-motile student, who clings to his home links. Those few motile students who by reason of strong home ties are made socially immobile become socially frustrated - often "inverted snobs".

'Locality' ties are often represented by groups of friends of long standing who have not gone to University and with whom the student still has social activities. There is a widespread refusal to 'drop' these friends upon coming to University even though maintaining social links with them becomes increasingly difficult. Local activities associated with the home community take up the leisure time of the non-motile student, thereby preventing him from joining in extra-curricular University activities through which he could get to know fellow students out of class. Such activities as youth clubs, church clubs, scout clubs and local sports societies were mentioned in this connection by students.

Although these students try to keep up two sets of activities and friends - at University and at home - the outcome is not always satisfactory. Sometimes the local friends put strains upon the relationship by making the student feel 'different'. Said one student sadly, "People don't understand about going to University and assume one must be a snob".[1]

These non-motile students have deep attachment to family and, particularly among the Scottish working class, would have regarded it as a

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1. Ellis and Clayton-Lane : "Structural supports for upward mobility", Am. Soc. Rev., Oct., 1963. "Generally lower class youth find themselves confronted by an environment in which going to college is the exception not the rule, and in which strong counterpressures may be mounted against those who seek to deviate from the prevailing cultural norms".

deep disloyalty to their parents to say that they had grown away from them and moved up the social scale merely by their becoming just "one of them students". This is particularly true among those who feel that students have no particular prestige in society. And, as we have seen from the Newcastle survey (Appendix Table 71), 27 per cent said that students have no prestige in society - often the opposite - and those who felt this most often and most deeply were upper middle class students - 31 per cent of whom registered 'no prestige'.

In such a situation if 'being a student' does not seem to confer any particular status it is felt by many working class students to be nonsensical that they should have changed their social class on coming to University. This being so, it is not surprising that so few "first generation" University students of the working class and lower middle class experience difficulties in family relationships after coming to University - for the break or attenuation in relationships brought about by changes not only in life style but in values has not yet begun to take place. This brings us to a consideration of 'bourgeoisification' - for this implies not merely external categorisation but an enculturation into middle class values and norms.[1]

If one accepts this definition then there is a section of working class students in all three Universities who through the operation of certain social factors are resistant to bourgeoisification. If one discounts those who felt they 'moved' before University, along with those who moved upon coming to University and those who have doubts about the matter, then about 50 per cent of the working class students at University

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1. See Lockwood, D. and Goldthorpe, J.H., op. cit., for discussion of the economic, normative and relational aspects of 'embourgeoisement'.

are non-motile - although this is not to say they are not mobile. Sixty per cent of lower middle class students are non-motile - this refers particularly to first generation University students in this social class.

We have seen how the non-motile students do not feel that they have changed their social class from that of their parents either before, at, or during their University career. Yet this does not signify that they believe that they will never move. Indeed a large majority of these 50 per cent say that they will move after they leave University. For a very few this is the result of the fact that a degree in itself conveys social prestige - for the majority social mobility comes upon "getting a good job". It was often stressed that social movement would almost come without their individual volition - since it is "not what you think yourself - but the category that other people put you into that counts". "I suppose when I get a good job with good money my social class will change" said one working class science student. "I mean it will almost automatically won't it? If I get a nice house and big car people will put me in the middle class. However, I doubt whether my own views will ever change. To myself I shall always be working class".

This student stated what was repeated by so many others - that their social mobility would be the result of their being moved - rather than consciously desiring movement. Although looking forward to acquiring the material advantages of higher social status they want very little of the cultural and value systems, i.e., they are mobile but not motile. They look forward to experiencing what Lockwood has called an 'institutional' mobility,[1] which will "jack them up a place" - they are not 'bourgeoisified' -

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1. Lockwood, op. cit., p. 13.

in their own minds they never will be - although that is too far ahead to judge.

For these students mobility is a structural property and not an individual experience - although in time their life-style may change their values will remain deeply rooted in their social class of origin. "This again would tend to suggest that the factor of mobility by itself is by no means the solely or even saliently, operative factor"[1]. The working class students particularly interpreted social mobility purely in terms of "job and money", i.e., in terms of an achievement pattern conditioned by their socio-cultural background, and which their parents would understand, for which they were prepared and which implicitly they approved in the first place. Links with family and friends need never be changed, attenuated or broken - particularly if there is no geographical break - since mobility is expressed in terms of the working class value pattern.

This finding reflects what was discovered in the last chapter about students' views on the factors which determine an individual's social standing. It may help to look again at Table 53 (Appendix Table 63).

In Edinburgh 38 per cent of English working class students mentioned income/occupational factors - compared with 33 per cent of Scottish working class; in Durham 41 per cent of working class students fell into this category, in Newcastle 48 per cent. This differential between the Universities tends to correspond to the increasing proportions of working class students who are mobile and not motile, i.e., who are not 'bourgeoisified'. It also corresponds to proportions of those who came to University to "get a degree" or "for money" - whose motivation in the terms of one young

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1. ibid. p. 12.

man was "so that I can sell my B.Sc. to the world for a living wage". It is easy to see how a degree may thus become a necessary, if not the necessary means to attainment of occupational status, and University merely an impersonal degree-giving machine. Yte not all working class students and lower middle class first generation students by any means regard University only as a means to an end - as we saw in Chapter V - and it is often among the hardworking lower middle class first generation students in particular that one finds students who want 'to be educated', 'to learn', to 'to use learning to help others'.

One must not forget also those students who are motile, and yet who did not change their social class before or upon coming to University because of the comparative mobility of their families with whom they retain strong links. However, many of these students begin to feel at University the cultural differences which begin to separate them from their parents, i.e., the influence of 'bourgeoisification' which comes from mixing and being influenced by middle class students. These students were often in 'professional' faculties - such as Medical faculty - and became aware of the gradual effect upon them of the enculturation into a professional ethos. They tended also to be found in halls of residence and colleges - i.e., living in conditions which as we have seen are conducive to close intergroup relations and the mutual transmission of elements of social class culture.

Said one such lower middle class student: "I feel so strange now in my own home that I feel almost like a lodger. Yet even though there are tensions between us I still feel loyal to my parents and would like to help them financially some day. I came to Edinburgh because it is a long

way from home. My school advised it. It depends on the personality of the parents whether they can adapt or not to the situation".

The fact that lower middle class students as well as working class students experienced tensions at home as a result of coming to University shows again that in terms of values - it is the impact upon the educo-cultural classes rather than the socio-economic classes which is important. Most working class students who experienced difficulties - like the one above - were first generation University students whose parents perhaps did not always appreciate the values of higher education and so did not wholeheartedly enter into the experience. The higher the parents' own education the more encouragement they tended to give to their student sons and daughters.

Very few parents of those interviewed actively opposed the idea of higher education - and as one might expect it was usually girls who found themselves in this situation. Said one female working class student in Edinburgh : "My parents definitely did not want me to come to University. But I can get over the tensions and difficulties by "being normal" and showing them that I do not feel superior".

Even in such cases of real antagonism there seemed to be mutual adaptation to the student's new role and status on both sides. In some cases the parents were only too eager to see their children "get on" - and some students spoke of their parents treating them like a "status symbol". This is true of overtly motile families. The majority however said that their parents were proud and pleased for them to come but had not forced them on in any way. If tensions arose it was usually something which

neither side could either avoid or fully understand - but both tried to adapt and adjust. Said one working class student:

"There has been some kind of break between myself and my parents even though I know they are proud of me. The fact that they are pleased for me helps them to adapt - as does the fact that they know parents of my friends who are in the same position. My parents help me in material ways because they can't help me academically. My mother especially is very good to me".

Other students spoke of their parents' financial help as being a concrete expression of their love and support - and the stress on the particular role of the mother was often repeated by working class students. It is clear that difficulties and tensions with family and friends do not automatically result from the move to University - but that these are features of certain structural relationships brought about by aspects of mobility. These will be summarised later. Whether these problems are accentuated or lessened depends largely on personality factors and on the quality of the parent/child relationship <u>before</u> the move. Some family relationships can withstand the effects of movement better than others and in cases which could lead to a <u>break</u> some are only <u>attenuated</u>. The mollifying features of family love and loyalty have often been neglected in discussions of the structural upheavals of mobility.

The following remark of a working class girl is only typical of many:

"My parents /

"My parents are very understanding and I feel very loyal to them. The strength of our family ties helps us to discuss the problems and differences of opinion that arise".

Such students were well aware how much they owed their parents and regretted the drawing away which they felt and could not avoid.

"I can't help feeling different from my parents, but I feel guilty about it because after all I got my ability from them. I am aware of the problem all the time. I think there should be a greater stress in education on the value of family ties and the value of working class intelligence".

These are some of the problems which beset working class and lower middle class students - particularly those who are first generation University students - who undergo social movement and change while at University. As we have seen certain conditions are necessary for this to happen - so that in fact only about 30 per cent of working class students do become 'bourgeoisified' while at University. One must assume that this lack of contact leads to comparative social deprivation also in other social classes.

Although one may conclude that 'psychological' factors enter into the process in terms of personality and motivation it is clear that the explanation is rather more sociological. 'Motility' in itself implies not only 'desire' for movement, but also 'having the properties of movement', or those characteristics which will help movement. This is particularly true of the possession of 'motile value systems' - or those which in the working class are thought to be more typical of the middle classes and educational élites.

In the three Universities surveyed the socially 'motile' person seemed in most cases to be a product of a family environment in which the mother had a higher education level than the father and was aspiring in her aims for her son or daughter.[1] Repeatedly, the same relationships appeared during lengthy discussion of home background in interview - in which it appeared that a cold or indifferent father with little interest in his son or daughter's education was counterbalanced by a warmly encouraging mother who "did everything possible and made every sacrifice" to get her son or daughter to University. This typical mother often encouraged her child to go away from home and thus facilitated the process of 'bourgeoisification' which she not only did not resent but often welcomed - seeing in it a fulfilment of her thwarted ambitions for herself.

Although the father in each case appeared as a 'background' figure it did not appear that he was consciously opposed to the education of his child. Indeed it is the undemonstrative father who often makes the venture possible by his provision of financial support.

A further finding was that among the working class it is the eldest female child in a family who may benefit from this kind of relationship - particularly if she has no brothers - representative for her family as it were 'a female son'. Such female working class students have already been shown to be a-typical of the working class in certain ways, likewise they may be a-typical of the 'female' population in certain attitudes. This is speculation and demands further investigation.

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1. This finding accords with those of Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit., Jackson and Marsden, op. cit., McKinley, op. cit., Strodtbeck, op. cit., discussed in Chapter I.

Indeed much of what has been said in these latter remarks of the socially motile working class student has been based rather more on qualitative rather than quantitative evidence and so no percentages have been expressed or attempted. Yet the author is certain that there is enough evidence of the intensive, qualitative kind to suggest certain meaningful trends which are in accord with other findings in this field. Further investigation is necessary in order to qualify the trends reported. Nevertheless, since the qualitative findings are in themselves consistent and since they are compatible within the body of structural material the author feels justified in outlining them at this stage.

In discussions of motility and mobility one is on much firmer empirical ground - since the relation of these two 'properties' is an expression of a structural phenomenon observable in many operations of the process of mobility and is in itself a concept. It has been clear throughout that in a sense 'motility' and 'mobility' are variables which may be present in situations in lesser or greater degree - just as social class itself may be relevant to a lesser or greater degree and this depends on a combination of other factors. Therefore not only does the particular combination determine whether an individual will actually move and <u>when</u> he will move - but the combination itself is seen as structural feature which varies with context. It is in itself a cluster of variables. "The greatly enlarged need for highly skilled workers and the correlated downward trend in the demand for the unskilled represents a significant lever for unblocking the life opportunities of youth from the lower classes. Rising education aspirations among parents and children, bolstered by an increase in the number of places in institutions of higher education and by the requirements of modern technology will also be instrumental towards this end".[1]

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1. Elder, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 201.

Thus we have the motile and the non-motile student at University. We have been speaking primarily of upward motility - although the concept also comprehends downward motility and could be applied to the upper middle class students who feel they have experienced downward movement. The motile student, whose motility may be encouraged by certain family relations, may experience motility before University at some previous stage in the process of educational selection. He may experience it upon coming to University as a point at which his separation from his parents socially is expressed in terms of a physical break. He may experience it during University in terms of completion of the process of bourgeoisification, i.e., 'assimilation' into the working class. He may experience it afterwards upon gaining a degree or attaining occupational or professional status. These will in each case merely mark a stage in a process long underway.

Certain structural conditions in the home and University environment are necessary for both motility and consequent mobility and these are concerned with the spatial and social relations of the student with his parents and peers. Weak ties with 'local' peers, and geographical separation from home environment characterise socially motile students and assist mobility.

For the motile student mobility is achieved in terms of culture and values, i.e., he is the student most likely to be 'bourgeoisified'. The 'motile' student who cannot become 'bourgeoisified' through lack of contact with middle class peers becomes aggressivley working class in compensation and may accentuate 'local' features such as regional accent and behaviour.

The non- /

The non-motile student with motile parents will feel anxiety through being 'pushed on' against his will - and tensions will result. The non-motile student with non-motile parents will experience far more tensions in his relations with University peers than he does at home - and will seek refuge at home. He will therefore resist social movement and in terms of institutionalised movement will postpone movement for as long as possible.

This is a summary of the configuration of variables involved in the 'mobility' of students and in the process of 'bourgeoisification' - which quite obviously need not go hand in hand.

"Certain conditions are necessary for the mutual transmission of elements of social class culture - where those conditions do not obtain social classes may pass through the University as discrete entities, whose members never have an opportunity mentally to 'rub shoulders' with each other. Working class students have been seen to be concentrated in certain Faculties, in certain forms of residence, in certain student societies. Members of each social class merely meet one another and suffer accordingly. For these students bourgeoisification or alternatively the knocking-off of too highly polished corners does not take place in the long run.

Superficial contact of social classes within the University cannot have more than a superficial and temporary effect.

Student comments on this included :-

"University is an artificial society, without much contact with other people who haven't had a University education or people of another social class, so one doesn't find out what makes them tick".

"University doesn't break down class barriers; once one gets mixed up with the population one gets back into the same structure of social classes".

The point brought home forcibly by the surveys in Edinburgh, Durham and Newcastle is one that is already beginning to be generally realised - that the ideal of a full community life in which students leave the University not only with a degree but with an education gained in some measure from each other, is not something which happens naturally and quite by accident. It is something which has to be planned.

What is <u>not</u> generally realised is that positive steps must be taken to prohibit the accentuation of existing social class divisions in terms of University structure and organisation - since such divisions threaten the establishment of a community life of challenging possibilities".[1]

This situation may become increasingly accentuated when full expansion programmes are underway. This is especially true if expansion should result in an increased proportion of students coming from homes where higher education was previously unknown. The structure of student social relations itself may change. The student and staff attitudes to change are examined in the next chapter.

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1. Abbott, Joan : "Students' social class in three Northern Universities", <u>B.J.S.</u>, XVI, No. 3, Sept. 1965.

CHAPTER XIV

Student Attitudes to University Expansion

It has been mentioned already in Chapter II that the three Universities in the survey are undergoing a period of tremendous expansion which involves vast building programmes and expansion of existing departments. The situation in Durham is most delicate in that places for students have to be built if the present rate of 'residence in' is to be maintained. It was claimed that members of the University that the rate of expansion laid down by Robbins did not take sufficient account of this fact and there was much discussion among staff and administration as to whether the 'character' of the University could be preserved if the Robbins estimates were striven for. Certainly among staff there seemed to be a general hesitancy to accept the need for vast expansion at least at so quick a rate - and a tendency to stress the rather more disquieting possibilities of expansion. The attitude of 'more means worse' was fairly prevalent among certain sections of the academic - particularly resident - staff.[1]

Attitudes to expansion among staff were not ascertained at the other two Universities - but since these are both non-residential there are fewer institutional restrictions on the form expansion may take. It appears that in Newcastle and Edinburgh expansion is greater and more rapid because increasing numbers are fitted into existing buildings until new ones are built - and this of course applies only to work space.

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1. See cutting from The Guardian, Nov. 11th, 1964 on Dr. Christopherson's Annual Report, 1964. (In Appendix).

Accommodation problems grow as the 'threshold' of student saturation of city accommodation is reached - but the situation is more flexible than in a collegiate University. Nevertheless, it may lead to a greater number of cases of individual discomfort and strain than in the small residential University where expansion is tempered to individual rather than institutional needs.

In the larger Universities therefore there seems to be greater acceptance of the necessity to expand among students, staff and administration - this is especially true after a certain threshold of size, cost and administrative complexity has been reached.[1] Once a University has grown beyond a certain point a few thousand students here or there makes little difference to the running of the University - it becomes <u>geared</u> to expansion. Durham has not yet reached this position and Newcastle has possibly only just passed it since it became an independent 'new ' University with increased means at its own disposal. Problems which seem almost insurmountable at the beginning of the process, as in Durham, begin to have their own built-in solutions by the time the University reaches the size of Edinburgh. It would seem that there is an intrinsic institutional resistance to change and expansion which follows a curve of diminishing effect once the process of change itself is underway. This is thought of in organisational and institutional terms - but it well may apply to the proportion of individuals within the institution who are themselves resistant to change.

The 'official' aspects of expansion are more aptly dealt with in

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1. See extracts from the late Sir Edward Appleton's Address to the General Council printed in <u>The University of Edinburgh Bulletin</u>, (In Appendix).

documents and reports than within the limits of the present chapter. The kind of investigation to be described has not so far been undertaken in any systematic way. This is an examination of the attitudes to expansion of the students themselves - those who are actually undergoing the institutional changes which expansion necessitates.

Since 'expansion' is meant to comprehend institutional changes of various sorts the attitudes of students to the separation of Durham and Newcastle Universities will first be discussed - particularly as this may help to throw more light upon the differences between them.

Students were asked whether they thought that the changing of Newcastle from a college of Durham to a University in its own right had in any way affected the lives or attitudes of ordinary students. If they answered 'yes' they were asked to say in what way. This was left open-ended and answers were afterwards coded.

Table 62 (Appendix Table 72) shows the results of this survey.

Table 62 — Whether Newcastle students thought that the change of King's College to University status had affected the ordinary student.

	Upper Middle Class : %		Lower Middle Class : %		Working Class : %		Unclass. %		Total	No.
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	M.	F.		
Yes	15	23	15	20	14	9	14	20	16	100
No	50	47	50	35	53	30	67	20	47	297
Don't Know	35	30	35	45	33	61	19	60	37	232
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	629
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629	

Only 16 per cent of students said that students had been affected in some way. One must remember that many students in fact never knew Newcastle as a college of Durham, i.e., first and second year students - so could not possibly know what 'difference' had been effected. If one abstracts these students (a little over 50 per cent) then it would appear that about half of the students who saw the change felt the change personally in some way - even if they were unsure of its particular effects. The figure also includes some first years who were not involved personally but who heard other students talking about "what things used to be like".

However, it is true that many students felt that the 'break' only acknowledged explicitly a situation which had existed for some time.

"The only way I knew that we were part of Durham", said one male student, "was when we took examinations which were headed 'University of Durham, King's College'. And of course one had to graduate from Durham. That's all the effect it had on me".

Said another, "Occasionally we went through for sporting fixtures, or we had a joint regatta with them. Otherwise we were separate in every way. It didn't feel like one University". This student stressed that it had been bad for Newcastle sporting morale to play for a 'Durham' team and in fact most of the good 'Durham' sportsmen were in effect from King's. He thought that becoming separate would increase 'group solidarity' and pride in the University.

There is a consistent percentage of male students from every social class - 14 per cent - who feel that students have been affected by the institutional change in status. Among the female students however there

is some difference between the social classes - in which the proportion of students who experienced effects of change decreases with social class. Only 9 per cent working class students thought that students had been affected in some way. Perhaps because of the fact that due to sex and class this group is probably least likely to participate in 'institutional' activities such as team games. On the other hand, this group had 61 per cent 'don't knows', the highest in any sex or social class category.

On the whole, the 'don't knows' tend to figure nearly as largely as the 'no's' which tends to demonstrate perhaps the students' limited institutional perspective on this point.

Students' particular interpretations of the effects of the change (See Appendix Table 72) tend to some extent to fall into social class patterns, although not markedly so. The largest proportion of replies in any category came under the heading that the change would stimulate "pride in our University". Thirty-six per cent of students held this opinion - which augurs well for the new University if these represent the small but enthusiastic proportion who 'leaven' the 'dough'. Two-thirds of working class females came into this category - but of the total students in this category, upper middle class and lower middle class men formed 50 per cent. This could have some relation to participation in sport noted in Chapter VI.

Lower middle class male students formed the largest proportion of those who spoke of a "loss of tradition" and proved to be those in interview who had hankered after the ties with a 'collegiate' University and who preferred to say they were 'At Durham' than 'At Newcastle'.

This group also spoke most often (38 per cent) of the degree having 'less snob appeal' often quite wistfully. This is particularly true of members of the medical faculty who feel that a Newcastle medical degree is not yet established enough to be 'accepted' in the medical profession - even although the place of teaching is the same. It was often said by 'medics' that they supposed that the completely new medical course which had been started to coincide with the new University was an attempt to make a completely new name with a new tradition.

Students who registered in Durham still have the option of taking a Durham degree - and apparently those taking medical degrees nearly always opt for 'Durham'. This is the opposite of subjects in the Science faculty which has always had a reputation in its own right as a Newcastle section of Durham. The bulk of students in Science usually opt for a Newcastle degree.

Feelings among medical students tended to be more heated on the subject of 'independence' than those of students in other faculties and one felt that much of this had 'percolated' down from the top.

Strangely enough 23 per cent of male working class students thought that the change would involve 'loss of status' for the University. On the other hand, 19 per cent of students felt that independence had led to healthy competition with Durham 'to prove that we are as good as they are' and these students tended to be mainly middle class. No working class girls came into this category.

The only students who spoke of "better facilities" were 4 per cent of the male lower middle class. Material aspects of the change in status were not otherwise mentioned.

If one adds together the 'beneficial' and 'disadvantageous' effects of the change in status upon students it would seem that for 65 per cent the change appears beneficial and for 33 per cent it appears disadvantageous. The weight of opinion of those who felt the effects of change seem to be in favour of change.

If we turn immediately to a discussion of whether students favoured expansion of the University a different kind of pattern emerges. Table 63 (Appendix Table 73) shows the Newcastle reactions to this question. Firstly, students were asked if they thought that expansion would have any effect upon the character of the University. If these figures are to be believed, it would appear that expansion touches students more closely than an institutional change in status and that they believe it to have a greater effect upon the character of the University and the life of the individual student.

Table 63 — Whether Newcastle students thought that expansion would affect the character of the University and the life of the students.

	Upper Middle Class %		Lower Middle Class %		Working Class %		Unclass. %		Total	No.
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Yes	47	56	44	54	44	55	57	60	48	304
No	24	23	33	23	29	21	19	--	27	168
Don't Know	29	18	21	20	25	21	19	--	23	143
Happened Already	--	3	2	3	2	3	5	40	2	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	629
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	629	

Forty-eight per cent of students thought that expansion would affect the character of the University and 23 per cent said they did not know. In replies to this question the sex differential is more significant than the social class differential - which in effect hardly exists. A higher proportion of female students than male students in each social class think that expansion has certain effects on the student body - and the inter-class proportions are remarkably consistent. The female proportion is consistently up 10 per cent on the male proportion.

The proportion of "don't knows" again varies with sex and not with class. Even the pattern of replies specifying areas of change, shown in Appendix Table 73, show little in the way of a distinct 'class' pattern. However, upon reflection, this is not entirely unexpected in that this question is directed to the respondent in his capacity as student as opposed to non-student. It is interesting to note that this area of 'student' interest in which in a sense a "threat situation" exists invokes 'student' rather than social class responses.

The largest proportion of replies fell into the category of fears that the University would become like an "impersonal machine" - instead of a student community. In interview some students said that the process is beginning already and spoke nostalgically of the "old bun room" in the old Union building (now rebuilt and expanded) where one could be sure of meeting everyone who was anyone in the University. "Now all that is changed, instead we have the huge, brash buildings of the new Union, already too small and very overcrowded. And all the friendly intimate atmosphere is quite lost".

Even young first years had this image of the old "King's" passed on to them in the way of myth and folklore and the "old bun room" became a mystical symbol of all that had passed and was worth preserving. In the time of its existence it is unsure whether it ever enjoyed such glory.

However, the fact that townspeople and students still speak of "King's" and the University buildings are situated in "King's Road", and so on, still tends to nurture the myth of 'glory that is gone'. Those were the days when the University <u>really</u> had 'character' - when it was a close-knit community with its own distinctions. With change in status, and particularly <u>name</u>, and with expansion in numbers this is passing away. Further expansion can only lead to a <u>greater</u> and more destructive impersonalisation. This is the students' view, and it is given encouragement by the physical expressions of expansion which are seen every day in terms of new buildings - particularly Science blocks. This is important in itself for Science blocks always tend to look more impersonal than cosy backstreet Arts departments. Students believe the name 'Newcastle University' to be expressive of this kind of scientific expansion and the Arts and Medicals among them resent it. In a student referendum on choice of name before the 'new' University status apparently students voted overwhelmingly for "King's University" - a blend of the old and the new - but it was turned down by the authorities. Students wanted to keep at least the nominal link with the past.

Lowermiddle class men are those who numerically comprise the largest proportion of those fearing 'impersonalisation' - 29 per cent. However, in terms of class categories, female upper middle class students

lead with 57 per cent in this category of response.

The second effect most frequently quoted was that staff/student contact would become less frequent and more impersonal - this applies particularly to the work situation, provision of tutorials, etc. Eighteen per cent of students fell into this category which was most favoured, perhaps surprisingly by working class male students. Eight per cent of these working class male students felt that there would be "less of a rat race" - an interesting comment on their own struggles.

Nine per cent of students felt that there would be increased 'decentralisation' and increased social activities within the faculties themselves - rather than maintenance of some identity with the total student body. Evidence would seem to show that 'identity' with the whole student body is weakened at some point where the University is much smaller than 4,000 students.

As many as 23 per cent of these working class students say that expansion will mean that a degree has less value and 8 per cent say that the standard of students applying will fall. They would seem to have a pessimistic view of the effects of expansion.

Table 63 (b) covers the total Newcastle sample and its response to the question of whether expansion has desirable, undesirable, or neutral effects.

Table 63 (b) /

Table 63 (b) Newcastle students' estimation of the desirability of University expansion

	Upper Class % Male	Middle Fem.	Lower Class % Male	Middle Fem.	Working Class . M.	F.	Unclass. % M.	F.	Total	No.
Desir.	22	16	22	14	27	12	12	25	20	86
Undesir.	51	61	58	62	44	64	65	75	56	243
Neutral	27	23	21	24	29	24	24	—	24	105
Total	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	434
No.	142	57	189	91	91	33	21	5	434	

Only 20 per cent of students say that there are undesirable effects and 24 per cent say 'neutral'. This would seem to point to a student population which is unexpectedly 'reactionary' in this area of opinion - this despite the fact that the covering letter of the questionnaire spoke of the fact that "an increasingly large proportion of students from families where higher education was previously unknown will have the opportunity of a University education". (See Appendix).

One amusing comment on the covering letter was written on the questionnaire by a female student, who said : "I cannot see how we shall ever achieve 'the full community life traditionally associated with Universities' mentioned in your letter. Already University is not so much a way of life but more a programme". This referred to a popular T.V. programme of the time.

It is /

It is surprising that so many working class students - themselves sponsored by the system - should not want to extend the benefits of higher education to other members of the working class. In this the female working class were most 'reactionary' of all; 65 per cent of these thought that the effects of expansion are undesirable. The male working class had the lowest proportion of any class in this category with 44 per cent - still rather high.

We may look for explanation of this fact to the operations of 'sponsored' and 'contest' mobility outlined by Turner.[1] We shall discuss this further in conjunction with results from the Durham survey.

Firstly, Durham students were asked to name 'the ideal size for a college' in order to ascertain some kind of idea of the size of social unit with which students most easily identify and beyond which size feelings of group solidarity tend to weaken and disintegrate. This was especially pertinent since the largest men's college - 'Grey' - now with 350 students and only five years old had been experiencing various student unrest which could have been caused in some respect by loss of group identity. The student committee found that they could not command the respect and obedience of the college as a whole and that splinter groups of 'rebels' had formed.

The table of ideal 'sizes' is shown in Appendix Table 73 along with colleges of students making each choice. There would seem to be two main 'camps' of opinion in that choices cluster around two main alternatives. These are to some extent divided along sex lines.

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1. Turner, op. cit.

Twenty-three per cent of students favour 151-200 and 24 per cent favour 251-300 as the ideal or optimum size of a college. Ten per cent fall between these two choices - so that in all 57 per cent - or a majority of students fall within the range of 150-300 - into which range of course fall most of the Durham colleges. However, it will be seen that beyond this size the percentage of choices tails off, even in Grey College. The majority of students would seem to agree that a college of over 300 students becomes 'too large' interms of community life. "A college should be large enough to offer a wide variety of people to mix with and small enough to know them all at least by sight" said one student.

It is clear that students' idea of the optimum size of a college are to some extent guided by the size of their own college - though they are no means determined by it. This is witnessed for instance by responses from St. Chad's with a student population of 60. Twenty-seven per cent of these students put the optimum size at between 100-250. This would seem to imply that for a significant proportion St. Chad's is too <u>small</u>.

A difference between male and female choices emerges - guided at least to some extent by size of college. The highest proportion of choices in each female college fell into the 150-200 range, while the highest proportion in each male college with the exception of the two smallest (theological) colleges, fell into the 250-300 range. These choices are obviously guided by sizes of individual colleges but by no means mirror them exactly. Perhaps it is useful to consider the student population of

each college in 1963-4 so that figures may be compared.

Male Colleges	Nos.	Female Colleges	Nos.
St. Bede's	76 *	St. Aidan's	121
St. Chad's	63	St. Hild's	51 *
St. Cuthbert's Soc.	310	St. Mary's	249
Grey	300	Neville's Cross	45 *
Hatfield	274		
St. John	157		
University	270		

(* Plus Certific. students)

The figures for the teacher training colleges, St. Bede's, St. Hild's, and Neville's Cross give a biased picture in that figures for University students only are given.

Naturally, the student's experience of community life will influence his impression of the optimum size for a college - he will measure 'size' against his own sense of identity - how many people he knows in his own college and so on. It is significant then that 'optimum' sizes on the whole tend to be the same or smaller than the sizes of the present colleges.

This being so it is interesting now to turn to attitudes of Durham students towards expansion of the University. This is meant in general terms to comprehend all forms of expansion. However, in interview students made it clear that whereas they did not favour expansion of

existing colleges an expansion in the number of colleges might be acceptable. This latter is in fact the form that expansion will generally take in Drham. On the other hand they pointed out an increase in the number of colleges could have differently unfortunate effects in terms of 'decentralisation'.

It is interesting to note that whereas Newcastle students were concerned with the impact of expansion upon the faculties - it is the impact on colleges which is discussed largely in Durham. This emphasises the centrality of these features in the institutional organisation.

Table 64 (Appendix Table 75) shows the distribution of students' replies.

Table 64 Whether Durham students thought that expansion would affect the character of the University and the life of the student.

	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Unclass.	Total	No.
Yes	87	88	79	69	85	299
No	2	5	10	15	6	20
Don't Know	11	7	11	15	9	33
Total	100	100	100	99	100	352
No.	101	161	77	13	352	

As one might expect in the light of all that has been said of Durham students and the institutional structure there is a much higher proportion of students in Durham than in Newcastle who feel that expansion will affect the character of the University. (May this represent the

initially steep gradient of the 'resistance to change' curve?). Eighty-five per cent think that change will have widespread effects - only 6 per cent do not. When the Registrar of Durham University saw the questionnaire originally he said he did not expect anyone to answer 'No' to this question. "They'll be mad if they say that expansion will not affect this University", he said.[1] As may be expected, ten per cent of working class students fall into this category. It would seem that for the working class student the 'traditional character' of Durham is less defined, or less worth preserving.

Table 65 (Appendix Table 76) shows whether students thought the changes brought about would be desirable or not.

Table 65 Durham students' estimation of the desirability of University expansion

	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Unclass.	Total	No.
Desirable	15	12	27	8	16	56
Undesirable	55	58	36	46	52	182
Both	9	10	9	23	10	35
Don't Know	5	5	3	—	4	15
Unavoidable	17	16	25	23	18	64
Total	101	101	100	100	100	352
No.	101	161	77	13	352	

1. Personal communication.

A smaller proportion of students than in Newcastle thought effects of expansion desirable - only 16 per cent. A proportion of students - 18 per cent - said that it was neither desirable nor undesirable - merely unavoidable. The working class students were markedly less antagonistic to expansion than in Newcastle, only 36 per cent thought that expansion is undesirable. As a whole however students in Durham were less opposed to expansion and more resigned to it than in Newcastle - this may be a result of the fact that the 'problem of expansion' had had much publicity in both student and staff circles, and it was generally acknowledged as being 'inevitable'.

Appendix Table 77 shows the form that students thought the effects of expansion would take. Although students were asked to name the most important of these, most students named two or three so that primary and secondary effects had to be analysed. Among primary effects outlined the most often mentioned to a significant degree is "loss of community" which naturally means a great deal in a University the size of Durham which has a very 'personal' atmosphere. This effect is mentioned less frequently by working class than middle class students, perhaps because they participate less in community life.

The working class students tend to mention the beneficial effects of expansion more often than the middle class, such as 'more vitality in social life' 16 per cent; more amenities 16 per cent; and less apathy 4%.

Decreasing of staff/student contact is mentioned most often by the working class - 12 per cent. However, it appeared in interview that some working class students resent the hierarchical organisation of staff/student relations and feel that the social gap would widen even further with

expansion.

Among secondary effects of expansion the fact of increasing 'impersonalisation' is tressed by 21 per cent of students. Fifteen per cent of students think that student affairs will become decentralised, leading to a greater fragmentation of groups than already exists.

A significant proportion of working class students - 18 per cent think that Durham will become 'more redbrick' - although whether this is thought to be desirable or undesirable one cannot ascertain.

Twelve per cent of students think there will be a lowering of standards - most of them middle class students. Three per cent of upper middle class students think there will be less 'religious domination'.

As in Newcastle working class students tend more than middle class students to stress the beneficial aspects of expansion. Fourteen per cent of working class students thought Durham would become 'more go ahead', for instance compared with 7 per cent and 8 per cent.

In Durham it was thought that it would be interesting to compare the reaction to expansion of student 'leaders' with those of the other students. This may give an indication of the relative 'progressiveness' of leaders and others and show which way any lead in opinion would go.

Table 66 (Appendix Table 78) shows that in fact the student leaders if anything were more conservative in Durham than the other students.

Table 66 Attitudes of Durham student leaders to the effects of University expansion

	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Working Class	Total	No.
Desirable	20	13	27	18	29
Undesirable	58	60	41	56	88
Don't Know	6	9	15	7	15
Mixed	4	8	3	6	9
Unavoidable	12	9	15	11	18
Total	100	99	101	100	159
No.	50	75	34	159	

Fifty-six per cent of the leaders think the effects of expansion 'undesirable' compared with 52 per cent of other students.

The lower middle class leaders tend to be the most conservative of all - 60 per cent of these did not favour expansion. This discovery only serves to reinforce other findings about lower middle class students, particularly male lower middle class students. These student sppear to be the most conservative in the student population despite the fact that this section is that which has most benefited from University expansion and the expansion of educational opportunity.

The leaders as a whole would seem to be those who 'support' the establishment and the status quo which is perhaps a feature of a hierarchically organised structure. One would have to conduct further studies in order to find out.

The overwhelming weight of student opinion in Durham is in favour of maintaining the status quo since the effects of expansion are seen as largely if not wholly undesirable.

"I think expansion would be the very worst thing for Durham", said one student, "the new buildings would entirely spoil the scenery". This student was very serious and very committed on this particular point.

It would seem that the student attitudes to expansion arise because of the particular system of 'sponsored' mobility through which present students are passing or have passed. When these students have passed a certain point in which they are 'sponsored' into the educational élite - contest mobility is over to some extent and the student enjoys the feeling of having mounted a barrier and come to a well deserved reward. Therefore rather than wishing to extend his own opportunities to a greater number of his peers he wishes either to maintain the status quo or restrict selection even further - thereby limiting the area of contest mobility and the number of potential competitors.

Thus students in the two samples who felt the effects of expansion undesirable were, in terms of this analysis, expressing unconsciously fears about their own status position. For if achievement of educational status, i.e., becoming a University student - is widespread there is little prestige in having won it - and there is increased need for competition in terms of personal merit.

One would therefore expect working class students to be most reactionary since they have themselves been most stringently selected. Indeed one found that the small number of <u>female</u> working class students

did fit into this pattern. However, signs that the situation is changing, i.e., that the effects of expansion in terms of contest mobility are already being felt may be seen in the reactions of male working class students. This latter group proved to be less reactionary and conservative in their views towards expansion than students of the middle classes. If this is a sign of a developing process it is probable that both contest and sponsored mobility will increasingly have an effect upon the student population in terms of both attitude and behaviour.

This discussion of expansion brings us back 'full circle' as it were to the point where the argument of the thesis began, for it is in relation to the expansion of educational opportunity that interest has been aroused in the changing social class proportions in the University, and in the social relations of the members of social classes within the institutional context.

It has been supposed that in time the effects of expansion on the Universities will bring in their wake wider effects on societal structure in terms of social class relations and social mobility rates - in a spiral of action and reaction of individual and structural environment. This will only take place if expansion of places leads to a change in the relative proportions of the social classes within the Universities, i.e., a diminution of the social class differentials. If the proportions remain the same no amount of expansion of places will bring about the looked for changes in social mobility rates and social class structure.

The next /

The next chapter will attempt to sum up the conclusions reached in the thesis, and the particular problems which are left unsolved.

CHAPTER XV

Conclusions drawn and problems unsolved

The author set out to prove that social class is a factor in social relations of students in the three Universities studied, and indeed in social relations of students in similarly structured situations in other institutional contexts. The weight of the findings both qualitative and quantitative furnish ample proof that this is so. Not only this, but the material has suggested certain qualifications and conditions under which the thesis is valid in a wider variety of contexts. Since the conclusions of any thesis are in a sense the beginning of the next, through problems raised and hypotheses suggested, implications of the findings for the study of social class will be discussed in conjunction with the conclusions drawn.

The first concern of the thesis - following on the findings of research into educational selection, discussed in Chapter I, was to discover whether social as well as academic selection if continuing at University entrance level - despite overall increases in University places. Previous writers have come to the conclusion that social class differentials persist and that the working class is not taking its share of the expansion of educational opportunity. The 'cultural' reasons for this have been discussed - reasons such as differential language use; role of gross material factors such as economic pressures, family size and occupancy rate; differences in the social class value systems as expressed in the interest and encouragement of parents in their childrens'

higher education. All these have their effect on academic achievement at each educational level.

What was found in the present survey was that far from the proportion of working class students in the Universities having increased in response to educational expansion, the proportion was rather smaller than that previously estimated at 25-26 per cent by Glass and Kendall.

However, a point not discussed before and which should be mentioned in this connection concerns the "unclassified" students of Durham and Newcastle. It may have been seen in many of the results that this category approximates most closely in many details and responses to the working class sample and it well may be that this particular category of those who would not or could not state father's occupation is comprised mainly of working class students. If this were so, and because it is merely speculation this has not been stated in the body of the thesis, then this would bring the percentage of working class students up to the 25-26 per cent suggested previously.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there has been no vast expansion of working class students on the scale which was hoped or feared at the end of the 1940s. The investigation of Durham University's register of admissions in fact revealed a declining proportion of working class students since 1937 - before the 1944 Act was passed. The greatest expansion there was experienced by the lower middle class - who since 1950 had comprised the majority of Durham students.

This /

This finding is in accord with others of the thesis, and with those of earlier works on the subject, which show that it is the lower middle class which is taking advantage of the expansion in educational opportunity and which is growing in proportion to the other classes in the University. The author's theory of the cyclical expansion of social classes in the Universities, on the basis of empirical evidence outlines how this might take place.

The failure of the working class to take advantage of the expansion of educational opportunity and the reason for the corresponding expansion of lower middle class students may be attributed to cultural factors at work at Grammar School level, already discussed.

It is clear, therefore, that the working class students who do succeed at University are to some extent a-typical of the working class. How far they are a-typical and how far they remain members of the working class while at University has previously been little discussed - because the notion of a-typicality seemed to preclude the idea of maintenance of social class traits. The thesis has attempted to discover what in fact the statistical social class proportions within the student body mean

(a) in terms of what they are

(b) in terms of what they do.

In fact, much has been assumed in the early stages of the thesis of what the social classes are in order to discover what they do - or what part they play in students' social relations.

The /

The problems of methodology involved in discovering the social class proportions and what these proportions signify will be discussed later in that these problems lead to a re-appraisal of what we mean by social class in certain contexts.

However, within the limits which the researcher set herself - by taking as the primary index of social class of origin the occupational status of father - certain findings were made about the social classes as cultural groupings within the University. The fact that social class patterns emerged with regard to both characteristics of the students' family and of himself would seem to show that social classes as cultural collectivities do exist within the University framework despite the unconscious social biases of selection. These characteristics have regard to family size, education of siblings and of parents, and school education of the student himself - and these in turn are related to the socio-economic position of the family and its life-style and value systems. These were discussed in Chapter IV.

The fact that cultural patterning is not always clear cut along social class lines, and that, for instance, sex differentials may at times predominate, shows that 'blurring' of social class divisions may be dependent upon the presence of other variables in the situation. This has important implications for the study of students' social relations. The 'blurring' is sometimes due to the predominance of dimensions of social class other than the socio-economic - such as the educo-cultural - and this is touched upon in Chapter V in the discussion of students' motivation for coming to University and of their expectations of it in the

light of their experience, information and cultural background. The way in which the students react to University life is to some extent conditioned before they come and this conditioning owes much to social class background.

The way in which students react to University life - to work and residence, and to fellow students - is reflected in their participation within the student body in societies and organisations, and in the degree to which they take responsibility for the running of student affairs. This affects the formal relationship which the social classes have with one another in the student body in terms of 'interest' groupings particularly, and to some extent regulates the degree of contact by delimiting areas of cultural concentration. This was discussed in Chapter VI.

As we saw in Chapter VII the effects of this 'culture contact' or lack of it are acknowledged tacitly or explicitly by the students and expressed through daily contacts in social relations. Students have shown that they are influenced in choice of friends by considerations of social class, for instance, but this influence is defined by a complex set of dependent factors and upon the particular situation in which the students interact. In one situation the 'sex' attribute may predominate in the definition of the situation, in another it may serve only to accentuate the relevance of social class. In yet another situation geographical region of home residence may provide a bond, and in another create a division reflecting social class differences. In all these situations a complex set of variables is at work in students' social relations which mask or accentuate the relevance of social class.

The brief theoretical discussion of the findings in Chapter VIII tended to underline the structural patterning of social class relations in terms of this complex configuration of variables relevant in differently defined social situations. The situation itself is a structure of relevant attributes, and what the author has called 'situational space', within which it is structured, is defined by the interaction of cultural and spatial factors which delimit the range of potential student contact. The 'situational space' is that social area outlined by the relative spatial and cultural concentrations within a given context, and within the boundaries it sets the social situation is defined and enacted.

Degree of contact of the social classes has been seen to be one of the most important influences on their relations with one another - and this has been analysed in the spheres of residence, work and leisure. As has been discussed, the relative proportions of the social classes in terms of statistical size, the nature of overlapping social dimensions and degree of contact of the social classes are those crucial conditions which regulate social relations and define situational space.

Chapters IX and X have shown that the social classes are differentially distributed in faculties - i.e., in terms of work 'space' - in residence - in terms of living 'space' - and in societies and student organisation - or 'interest psace'. Indeed it has been found that social and spatial distance are often closely allied - more working class students living in 'digs' rather than halls, living 'out' rather than in colleges, and living in spatially separate areas of the city - as in Newcastle. The spatial concentration leads to reduced contact of the social classes and accentuation of existing social class divisions and

cultural differences. This has repercussions on the definition of situational space and on the relevance of social class as a factor in social relations.

'Geographical' attachments in terms of students' home residence express in turn both cultural and social class configurations and have especial relevance in certain situations. This is particularly true in a 'cosmopolitan' University - where 'local' is equated with low status. In a 'local' University the spatial dimension of 'local' rather than the status dimension tends to be stressed.

This brings us to the discussion of the totemic features of the University which affect the perception of the total context within which social class relations are set. Factors of urban setting and locality ties are seen as part of the University 'image'. We have seen how this may lead to an erroneous assessment of social class proportions in the University - as in the case of Newcastle University - with its working class 'ethos'. The perceived situation which guides students' responses within the institutional context is seen also as a symptom of structural relationships which are defined by those very factors and conditions which we see at work in other contexts of student interaction. These are once more the comparative size, nature and degree of contact of the composing groups. Where there is reduced contact this will lead to erroneous suppositions of the size and nature of the social class groups in the University. Erroneous perception of this kind, by guiding mores and attitudes of those interacting within the overall situational space, works in the nature of a 'self-fulfilling prophesy' to bring about what is supposed.

The perception of situations at small group level is guided by

the same factors and conditions and defined by spatial and social concentrations - so that within the limits of perceptional 'region' attributes are selected as relevant - among them social class. Where there is a multiplicity of factors which overlie the socio-economic factors there may be 'blurring' of social class divisions, where there are common boundaries this tends to accentuate the relevance of social class. Thus students' 'school' background, where it coincides with social class, tends to emphasise external social class divisions - where it does not coincide it tends to create a new kind of cultural division based on a more 'personalized' social class identity. This is true particularly since the student is abstracted from family background and most of the gross material class 'clues' which act as indicators of social class. Indeed, in such a situation social class becomes largely attributional and as such is relevant only in defined social situations. There are times when students' social class is interactional but this depends on spatial and cultural concentrations which allow for enduring contacts between members of the same social class within the institutional framework. Such is the organisation of the Universities studied that this is by no means precluded by the conscious "community" orientation. Residential set-up particularly may make for the growth of social class identity among students at the expense of "student culture" by encouraging those spatial and cultural concentrations which define such situations.

Where the <u>student</u> category is interactional rather than attributional, there is transmission of elements of social class culture and mutual adaptation of social classes in interaction - leading to what has been called 'bourgeoisification' of the working class. Where the

necessary conditions do not obtain there is no such transmission or adaptation - and no automatic assimilation of the working class students in to the predominantly middle class student body. Thus it is possible for the social classes to remain unchanged within the University and to exhibit those features which are exhibited by 'external' social classes. This will to some extent depend on institutional organisation and the degree of separation of the institution from external influcnes. This was discussed in Chapter XI. Where the institution is able to separate itself from the external social environment - as in a collegiate University - it is able to substitute its own inequalities based on its own criteria. Since these inequalities may suppose equality within each particular stratum this may act as a cohesive factor in student relations since 'students' themselves form an 'equal' stratum in the academic hierarchy.

Students' perception of social class within the University will in fact in part depend upon the degree of institutional separation and also upon the social class models to which they consciously or unconsciously refer in terms of past, actual or vicarious experience, as discussed in Chapter XII. The degree of definition of internal and external reference groups will again be delimited by spatial and cultural factors. Students' definitions of social class tend to vary with their own social class position. Working class students tend to stress the socio/economic dimension of social class - the middle class students tend to speak in terms of value systems. This kind of definition influences what the student perceives to be his own social mobility - i.e., different students may see themselves as moving along <u>different</u> social continuum - so that movement means different things.

Indeed, since social relations of social classes within the University are ordered to some extent by conditions outlined, these also are necessary for the process of assimilation or 'bourgeoisification' to take place. This is associated with social mobility, and implies that social mobility is by no means automatically accomplished by the student. It becomes imperative to define mobility as the students see it, as well as in the objective terms of occupational status. Since in 'institutionalised' terms all working class students have undergone a certain amount of social mobility we have to differentiate between differential capacities for movement and between those who have experienced movement relative to others within the same status category. The concept of "motility" introduced by the author attempts to separate out one of the variables in the process of mobility, which in itself is a configuration of variables, and by a process of multivariate analysis - at this point only crudely defined - to analyse its differential effect in different situations. This applies for instance to relations with parents and peers and to the relative significance of "locality ties". Although conclusions are drawn much of this evidence is qualitative so that what is suggested is a hypothesis which needs to be tested by objective data which may be measured.

Mobility 'rates' are not discussed in this thesis since they are outside the scope of the institutional context. Nevertheless, it seems possible that these will probably be affected by the expansion of University places if higher education continues to become the primary 'avenue' of mobility. Therefore it was pertinent in Chapter XIV to complete the study of the whole process with some student attitudes to expansion in

University places and to the prospect of a growing democratisation of higher education. The responses of present day students would appear to be particularly reactionary - and this may be seen as a feature of the 'sponsored' system of mobility outlined by Turner. Students in fact seem to think that expansion and democratisation will lead rather to a lowering of standards and to the entry of a different 'kind' of student.

However, in the light of what was discovered about the social class proportions within the Universities in fact expansion of places so far has not represented a wide democratisation of higher education - and it is probable that this will not change radically in the future. In a sense the system is self-maintaining and class differentials remain - so that social as well as academic selection continues to operate. However, one must not overlook the fact that there have been fairly radical changes within the social classes which are represented within the University so that what is meant by the social class proportions within the University is probably rather different from what it means, say, 50 years ago. This is because the very 'nature' of the social classes, as a configuration of variables, within the total population is changing - and for instance gross material inequalities are not as evident as they were. Nevertheless social class differences may be maintained by stressing a different dimension.

It is true also that there is some change in the <u>kind</u> of students in the Universities - through the increasing numbers of students from the lower echelons of the lower middle class. These form the majority of the first generation University students in whose families

higher education was previously unknown. This represents a shift in social emphasis in the Universities - which may affect their 'totem' or 'image' in the wider society, and may offer for some a threat to the élite values which in times past the Universities ideally conveyed.

If as we have seen there persist large numbers of working class students who remain culturally of the working class one may argue as to what will be the effect of this growing, albeit slowly, growing, number of 'proletarian intellectuals'. One may question how far they will become an 'academic' or how far a 'proletarian' class when their numbers increase. Will they drop back into the existing social class structure or form what one student called a "floating population"?.

It is difficult to ignore the wider implications of the findings of this study. If as we have seen the social classes persist both as cultural collectivities and conscious groups within the student body, and if the nature of their social relations leads some social class features to be accentuated rather than lost - then we may assume that institutionalised mobility will only have a limited effect on the value systems of the social classes passing through the Universities. Indeed where social class sub-cultures predominate more than student sub-cultures there will be limited growth of the mores and values of an élite, except among those in whom they are already closely associated with social class background.

Thus, if social class identities persist it is quite likely that institutionalised mobility through higher education may create a new kind of élite. This would represent an élite in socio/economic terms and one harnessed to the societal means of production and power as bearers

of knowledge useful to society - and one which retains original social class values, culture and identity. This could lead to an increasing fragmentation of social class dimensions and indices in society, and to an increasing shatterbelt zone of situations in which social class is attributional and of delimited relevance. This by no means indicates a disappearance or shrinking of social classes. It would seem to point to changes in number and kind, rather than in degree of existing social classes.

These are a few of the wider issues raised by the findings - but naturally there are questions raised at every level of investigation which cannot always be answered. For instance, we have seen how situational space is defined in cultural and spatial terms and have narrowed down the investigation to examine these components. Yet we cannot go beyond this on the basis of the present findings. It is as yet impossible to state which defined situations reveal the relevance of social class - nor how such situations are defined in terms of relevant attributes. It is possible only to infer what happens from the information to be had.

It is also not possible to observe role performance and role change at first hand, nor the operations of interpersonal physical and social space. This again must be inferred. Findings suggest that the same kind of cultural and spatial factors, though different in degree, are at work at the various contextual levels - so that there is a kind of continuum of spatial and cultural concentrations, whose effects may be plotted at different points in time and space. This has yet to be investigated. Another subject for further study is the theory that in the

configuration of variables which make up social class different weightings are accorded in different situations. This could only be examined at first hand, and unfortunately it would be almost impossible at this level to quantify and measure in a meaningful way.

It would be possible however to narrow down the area under investigation to a very small element of the contextual analysis as a whole. The present piece of research would thus act as a springboard to further investigations. Within the contextual framework outlined what is required is an analysis of dynamic situations which make up and are made by structural contexts - rather like molecules which make up solid matter. It has been established that molecules of activity are there - what needs to be investigated is the individual nature of the atoms and neutrons. As molecules differ so do social situations and their particular structure is of vital interest.

This means of approach is different from that which isolates a particular social variable or attribute and finds the way in which these define a situation and are themselves 'clustered'. One would attempt to isolate and define a meaningful social situation from the evidence available and examine it to see which attributes were present and which were perceived to be relevant. Thus one moves from the structure to its dynamic components rather than from dynamic components to a semblance of structure. And just as matter is made up of molecules so are structural contexts and role playing in terms of attributional selection.

Parsons has said "that a bridge may with perfect truth be said to consist of atoms of iron, a small amount of carbon, etc., and their

constituent electrons, protons, neutrons and the like. Must the student of action, then, become a physicist, chemist, biologist, in order to understand his subject? In a sense this is true, but for the purposes of the theory of action it is not necessary or desirable to carry such analyses as far as science in general is capable of doing. A limit is set by the frame of reference with which the student of action is working. That is, he is interested in phenomena with an aspect not reducible to action terms only in so far as they impinge on the scheme of action in a relevant way - in the role of conditions or means. So long as their properties, which are important in this context, can be accurately determined these may be taken as data without further analysis. Above all, atoms, electrons or cells are not to be regarded as units for the purposes of the theory of action".[1]

Conditions rather than units of action have been studied in this thesis - and the pattern of those conditions constitutes as it were the situational space within which the actors interact. The molecule imagery is appropriate in that a molecule may be said to be a configuration rather than a system and the neutrons within it have apparently random paths. It may be suggested that apparently random individual acts take place within structured situational space which delimits but does not dictate those acts. Also operating in the situation are the multi-dimensional reference groups to which the actors refer in terms of past,

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1. Parsons, Talcott : The Structure of Social Action - A study in social theory with special reference to a group of recent European writers. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1949, p. 47.

actual or vicarious experience - so that the structure is changing even while the social choice is made or the social dilemma (in terms of pattern variables) is solved. This may lead to a change in the actual 'fabric' of social relations.

It will be seen that what the author means by 'condition' differs to some extent from that indicated by Parsons so it is pertinent to quote Parsons' definition here : (An act) "must be initiated in a 'situation' of which the trends of development differ in one or more important respects from the state of affairs to which the action is orientated, the end. The situation is in turn analysable into two elements - those over which the actor has no control, that is which he cannot alter, or prevent from being altered, in conformity with his end, and those over which he has such control. The former may be termed the "conditions" of actions - the latter the "means"."[1]

However, in the present analysis of 'conditions' it is clear that the actor has some control in terms of <u>future</u> situations if not the present one, and his very selection of attributes, patterns relations in such a way that future roles are adjusted accordingly. The spatial and cultural concentrations already discussed are in themselves <u>conditions</u> which delimit or define situational space, and yet they continually undergo modification through time and space. This results partly from the relation of the normative and non-normative aspects of the system through the definition of the situation by the persons in it in terms of past, actual

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p. 45.

or vicarious experience. These are some of the considerations which the present analysis brings us to, which are not exclusively concerned with social class - but rather with the social relations in which it is a factor.

On the other hand, the thesis raises many questions about the nature of social class itself - especially within the University context. For example, points of methodology arise which are concerned to enquire firstly <u>how</u> one discovers social class and then how one analyses exactly <u>what</u> it is once it has been discovered.

The author did not initially discuss the definition of social class at great length because certain assumptions must be made about what social class <u>is</u> in order to discover what it <u>does</u>, i.e., what part it plays in the students' social relations. However, in a sense what has been demonstrated is that the nature of social class is in fact manifested by the part it plays in social relations. It is an <u>operational</u> concept.

By examining what part social class plays in social relations we may escape from the position outlined by Lipset and Bendix. "Having essentially no problems other than accurately describing the hierarchical structure, more and more of the literature in this field is becoming methodological"[1].

Although until now a certain starting point or 'base line' has been assumed, one cannot escape the methodological implications of selecting

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1. Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R : "Social status and social structure' : A re-examination of data and interpretations - II". <u>B.J.S.</u>, 1951, Vol. 2, p. 246.

such a base line fr "stratification in any population exhibits various facets according to the contexts in which and the methods by which it is examined"[1].

In this particular case both subjective and objective indices of social class identity have been used - and both are seen to be relevant.

There are obvious dangers in analysing social class in terms of what people themselves think of their own social class and that of others. It is for this reason that the starting point for analysis was the attempt to establish by means of objective indices the social classes as statistical cultural collectivities. Lipset and Bendix discuss some of the weaknesses of using self evaluations of social class in their critique of the Lloyd Warner school. They say that "if class is what people say it is then a finding that people of the same class associate in voluntary ("subjective") organisations, seems merely to confirm that they act and think alike. Analysis should reveal more than this; it should enable us to predict the conduct of people in terms other than the way in which they rank their own prestige and that of others. That is to say, we should be able to infer from a people's conscious system of prestige ranks how they would behave and think in circumstances which are not themselves the result of these prestige ranks. Otherwise the theory of class is tautological"[2].

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1. Littlejohn, op. cit., p. 76.

2. Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R : "Social status and social structure : A re-examination of data and interpretations - I", B.J.S., 1951, Vol. 2, p. 152.

By taking 'student' circumstances, i,e., those "which are not in themselves the result of these prestige ranks" and by testing in them both objective and subjective social class evaluations the author hopes that she has broken out of 'the circle', while not throwing away the valuable insights of what it means to "belong" to a social class. This feeling of 'belonging' relates most closely to interactional rather than attributional social class situations - so that in itself it can tell us little of the varieties of meaning of social class in different contexts, and for different people. This can only be discovered by multivariate analysis of all available data both objective and subjective. For it would seem that there is indeed a statistical reality of cultural concentration or configuration within the University - how it is experienced depends on the other factors which enter into the situation and with which it is variously combined. Thus what people consciously know and what is statistically true may differ - but both are relevant and necessary to any analysis of social class as a feature or property of social structure.

Therefore in effect what Lipset and Bendix criticise in Lloyd Warner's work is incomplete rather than irrelevant information on social class.

"Rather he (Warner) seems to have concluded that if any resident or group of residents was aware of these distinctions then a systematic knowledge of these distinctions would contribute to social class analysis.

This conclusion arises from a failure to emphasize that any theory of class is a conceptualisation which highlights some and ignores

other facts. A study of class which is based exclusively upon people's awareness of class treats this awareness as a substitute for the concepts of the social scientist"[1].

It is indeed true that the 'awareness' of social class is no substitute for the concepts of the social scientist - yet it may well, as we see in the evidence of the thesis, give certain structural insights which explain why the 'awareness' does not convey what happens in statistical and structural terms.

Indeed the fact that social class does not mean the same thing to different people - or is viewed differently from different points on the 'scale' should tell us much about the nature of the social classes. For it would seem to be true that social class represents a complex configuration of variables or a constellation. Although it may be mapped like a chart of the heavens, if viewed from inside the constellation not only is the aspect different but the whole appears to be completely fragmentary with its boundaries ill-defined. And as planets and stars move relative to one another, so do the status dimensions within the total constellation. This points to a kind of social as well as spatial relativity. Obviously the analogy cannot be taken too far - but the idea of composite positions changing relative to one another has heuristic value. In other words, we cannot expect to come up with the same answer each time - and our measurements of social class will have little meaning if they are not taken relative to some other measurement.

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1. ibid., p. 154.

Therefore, although what is taken as an objective measurement is in itself a relative fact, when objective and subjective measurement are compared in relation to the part they play (i.e., what they do in a dynamic sense) they become a constant relative to one another, in a manner which allows of some meaningful structural conclusions to be drawn.

Thus it is hoped that in a limited way the dangers of a unidimensional point of view"[1] are avoided. From this point one may then "attempt to account for the behaviour of large numbers of people in terms of their common response to the chared experiences of their position in social and economic life".[2] In this thesis there has been an attempt to examine the nature of the positions occupied in terms of the variety of people's "common response to the shared experiences of their position", in terms of defined situations, and their "interlocking status evaluations"[3] are seen as a feature of their structural positions.

Naturally, however, "the 'facts' pertaining to social class (or to any other aspect of society) are infinite, and any investigation of social class must perforce select some and neglect other 'facts'".[4] So it was that the initial starting point was an analysis of students' socio-economic social class of origin as based on father's occupational status. This in itself represents only one dimension of social class and to try to

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1. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 242.
2. ibid., p. 243.
3. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 168.
4. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 233.

discover more about what social class is from this point may have led to arid speculation. However, more is revealed of what social class is by an analysis of social class as a factor in social relations than by an attempt merely to classify students upon a social status scale.

Obviously the socio-economic dimension of social class is of prime importance and implies a whole configuration of variables. "By virtue of their common experience within the same exigencies of everyday living they probably think alike in many respects. But, as Marx saw, these factors only facilitate, they do not necessitate organisations and organised common action"[1]. The same principle applies equally well to the concept of 'student' behaviour.

However, since 'student' is in Weber's sense a 'status group' rather than a social class there are limitations in the comparison.

Ossowski postulates that there are three assumptions which appear to be common to all conceptions of a "class" society :-

" i. The classes constitute a system of the most comprehensive groups in the social structure.

ii. The class division concerns social statuses connected with a system of privileges and discriminations not determined by biological criteria.

iii. The membership of individuals in a social class is relatively permanent. "

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1. ibid., p. 248.

"In the first assumption two elements must be distinguished ; (a) that classes are the most comprehensive groups: (b) that classes form a system of such groups. By the most comprehensive groups in the social structure I understand here a small number of groups - two or more - differentiated in consequence of the division of society according to criteria that are important in social life. The second element introduced by this assumption involves treating a class as a member of a certain system of relations. This means that the definition of any class must take into account the relation of this class to the other groups in the system".[1]

Ossowski considers three basic schemes of class structure. "Two of these schemes, the dichotomic and the functional, present the social structure as a system of dependence, the third as a system of gradation. In schemes based on relations of dependence the various terms in the system are characterised by different attributes; in a scheme of gradation they are characterised by a differing degree of the same characteristic".

It has already been pointed out that the social classes themselves within the University context have at times been spoken of as attributional, i.e., a certain class membership represents a quality or label with "an all or none existence". Yet this attribute in itself implies a whole configuration of variables which exists in varying degrees in different social classes. Thus in the University context social class may be "attributional", and in combination with other characteristics and

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1. Ossowski, op. cit., p. 133.

in certain conditions it may become "interactional". Also, in any social situation an attribute of a person may be a variable in terms of the situation.

"The 'attributional' classes themselves refer to classes in the external structure outside the University which may be conceptualised in terms of the three basic schemes outline. The infinite complexity of studying social class relations among students arises because both social classes and universities are "basic groups"[1] and ranked in a system of gradation upon different continua. The fact of gradation itself introduces the complex question of degree as well as kind, which makes it well nigh impossible to speak in terms of a simple typology which is meaningful in empirical terms. When complex theorisation does not advance the understanding of social phenomena one must use the tools to hand and "leap into the dark". The findings which result may well show that the "various definitions of a class society may in reality differ less between themselves than one would believe in view of the different formulations"[2]. For in fact what may seem in many cases to be contradictory evidence may be merely different aspects of the same social phenomenon - and one which it is well-nigh impossible to analyse in its entirety and in all its social ramifications. In such circumstances, a proliferation of 'models' of social class can tell us much of the social phenomenon being studied. For Ossowski : "The model of a social class is made up of several different characteristics admitting of gradation.

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1. ibid., p. 141.

2. ibid., p. 138.

Several criteria overlap in it, and the absence of one criterion may be offset by a higher degree of another characteristic, just as in the evaluation of a work of art a lower level of artistic technique may be offset, for instance, by originality of idea or power of expression. A work of art can be a work of art to a greater or lesser degree, just as a social class may be a class to a greater or lesser degree".[1]

This being true, in the empirical situation one is left without a much clearer idea than before of what is meant by "social class". Theory and method go hand in hand, and so until this question is more fully answered all empirical research will exhibit the inadequacies of the conceptual schemes. Ossowski admits this when he says that "As the criteria are not commensurable, the final decision as to what is and what is not a social class must ultimately be reached by intuitive judgments made in a given milieu about the importance of various criteria (compare the conceptions of American sociologists) or by considering practical consequences and the requirements of action (compare the Marxist theory of class)."[2]

Naturally this gives rise to many incongruities and divergences of opinion. "The common basic assumptions concerned with the concept of class sometimes make it difficult to see clearly whether, when faced by discrepant definitions, we are in fact dealing with differences of conceptual apparatus or with contradictory views regarding the scope of the phenomena which is established by these common assumptions".[3]

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. ibid., p. 139.

Of course it is not only the models of social class which may differ or change but the thing studied may differ and change from place to place and from time to time - so that additional variables are constantly being added to confuse the picture - and one is left ultimately with a question or series of questions.

As we have seen in this thesis the expansion of educational opportunity which has been planned for and awaited has been and is at the present time a starting point for many speculations about the changes which the democratisation of higher education may bring about in the total social class structure, and among those who are to fill some of the key positions in it. These must as yet remain only speculations - but the findings suggest that changes are taking place more slowly than has been anticipated and that the relations of the social classes in the University correspondingly fall into a more "traditional" pattern than may previously have been supposed.

It well may be that the signs and symbols of an affluent society lead some to suppose that "we're all middle class now". But this leads us back once more to what we mean by social class - for within the limits of this thesis it would seem that this generalisation is not valid and that even within a privileged status group, as students are, social class differences are preserved.

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